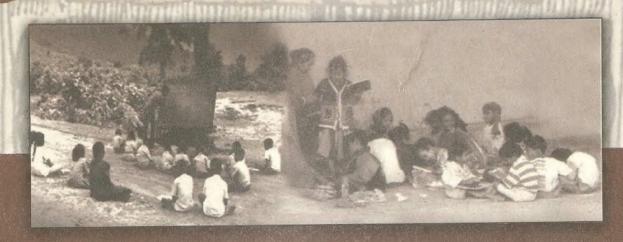3.1

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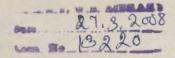# CHILDREN

3.1

POSITION PAPER

NATIONAL FOCUS GROUP

ON

PROBLEMS OF SCHEDULED CASTE AND SCHEDULED TRIBE CHILDREN

राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The basic objective of this paper is to critically examine the contemporary reality of schooling of children belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities, with a view to suggesting policy and programmatic applications, especially in the domain of curriculum, to improve their educational situation. Sharp historical differences between and within these communities have been eroded by socio-economic change and have brought the SC and ST on greater common ground. However, considerable material and cultural diversity still exists, therefore the need to maintain contextual sensitivity while analysing their educational situation.

In the post independence context of massive state supported expansion and democratisation of schooling and institution of positive discrimination policies to facilitate access, education has successfully served, albeit to varying extents and with marked regional variations, as a key instrument of change and emancipation for the SC and ST. It has brought them self respect and socio-economic advance, raised political consciousness and empowered their identity struggles. However, educational disparities between the SC and ST and the rest of the population, in terms of quantity, quality, teaching-learning process and learning outcome, have been far from eliminated. The inequalities reflect the fact that theirs has scarcely been an equal integration into dominant society. Rather, in a society characterised by growing polarisation, their inclusion has been governed by relations and processes of exploitation, discrimination, displacement and oppression. Global economic forces have brought about greater ruin of large sections of SC and ST who experienced marginalisation by development processes. Poverty, unemployment and ill health are disproportionately located among them. Tribals have suffered large scale land alienation and dispossession from natural resources and are reduced to economic and cultural subservience to non-tribal communities. Vast numbers of the Scheduled Castes have been unable to escape stigmatised occupations and social existence.

Such socio-economic conditions could not but create a disjuncture between survival needs and educational needs, leading to limited educational progress of the SC and ST. Our survey of quantitative expansion reveals the dismal contemporary scenario of inequality in access, retention and attainment at the school level. While an unprecedented rise in enrolment is evidence of a strong demand for education among the SC and ST, accessing basic school is as yet a massive problem. Though school participation rates have increased, attendance rates are unsatisfactory at the primary level and worse still at the middle. Drop out, failure and low scholastic achievement afflict SC and ST to a far greater degree than non SC and ST school children. The cumulative impact is low rates of school completion. Gender disparities are conspicuous on all educational indicators revealing the under-education of girls. SC and ST communities have become increasingly patriarchal as a result of processes of cultural absorption. Gender and class along with tribe and

caste constitute fundamental categories of exclusion. Furthermore, significant inter-state, inter-regional and rural-urban disparities exist especially in politically neglected states and regions. Intra-caste and intra-tribe variations are also sharp and indicate that the relatively more marginalised of SC and ST groups experience gross educational deprivation. Scheduled tribes appear to lag behind the Scheduled Castes in most states barring largely the North-Eastern ones, due to specific socio-historical factors.

Our exploration into the field reality of schooling of SC and ST children entailed a critical overview of basic educational provision as well as issues related to structure, content and process of the schooling. We find that historical inequality in diffusion has been mitigated to a great extent, but unequal provision continues to be the fundamental educational deterrent. Quality of mass education has declined to an abysmal level. Current policy changes have led to a rapid decline in teaching-learning conditions and have exacerbated the already grim situation in neglected regions and remote tribal areas. The cut in public spending on education has proved most damaging. It has adversely affected state provisioning of schools and teachers and encouraged in its place the most substandard and commercially oriented private effort or spectacular but unsustainable innovations. Ironically, as India stakes claim as frontrunner in the world knowledge economy, her underprivileged children suffer the consequences of grossly inferior basic education. Several dimensions of educational inequality are conspicuous by their presence in schools for the SC and ST and signify the decline and dilution in educational quality. Diffusion is as yet inadequate in many parts, leading to situations whereby 'social' accessibility persists as a problem for the SC child and the absence of even a poorly functional school remains a disadvantage imposed on a remotely located tribal child. Inferior learning opportunity is actualised in the poor quality of infrastructure, an inadequate and demotivated teaching staff, inadequacy of teaching transaction and in the provision of teaching learning material. The model of 'minimum levels of learning' further compromises quality in no uncertain measure as education gets diluted to literacy. School level policies of positive discrimination caught in the quagmire of bureaucratic apathy, politicisation, political patronage and corruption, offer limited coverage and an appallingly poor quality of service. State institutions meant to play supportive roles reflect patronising and derogatory assumptions about facilities befitting the SC and ST.

Curriculum has served as mediator of ideological dominance and hegemony, evident in the selection and structuring of knowledge, pedagogic practice, and in weak and distorted representation of subaltern groups, culture and ideologies. Curricular change supposedly aimed at indigenisation in post colonial educational policy, resulted in Brahmanisation as a key defining feature. The historical significance of structural oppressions of caste, gender, tribe and religion were made invisible by a school curriculum in which the dominant discourse was of a cultural majoritarian nationhood. The Brahaminical construction of knowledge was evident in the eulogisation of specific forms of mental capacities, and dominance of Brahmanical language,

literature, history as well as Brahmanical religio-cultural practices, symbols and modes of life in curricular content. By corollary there was a devaluation of manual labour, of 'lesser' dialects, cultures, traditions, and of knowledge rooted in productive processes of lower castes and their socio-cultural habitat. Their knowledge, values and skills found no place at all in the school curriculum. Nor did their stories, music, songs, folklore or cultural and religious practices. Curriculum also retained its colonial character privileging knowledge of Western hard sciences, technology and styles of life as also of the English language. The ideology of modernisation was adopted in truncated, superficial ways and the presence of liberal and democratic socialist values was largely notional. Phule and Ambedkar's thought critically adapted Western liberal ideology towards the emancipation of India's downtrodden, radically transgressing narrow technocratic modernising elements. However the vibrant expressions of Phule-Ambedkarism and its vision for a new moral order for Indian society hardly found a space in a curriculum dominated by the thought of high caste nationalists. Neither did curriculum reflect upon varied other challenges posed by dalit epistemology, knowledge and protest. The Scheduled Castes and their issues remained peripheral and their representation, if at all in the curriculum, has been weak and distorted.

Curriculum did not acknowledge the cultural rights and history of the Scheduled Tribes either. The Scheduled tribes have a dual and contradictory relationship with education. On the one hand education as a central avenue of development and nationalism plays a part in the destruction of tribal language, culture and identity and generates a negative self image. School regimen and curriculum fail to take account of tribal cultures, in particular, of their culturally anomalous free and egalitarian socialisation and learning practices. Nor do they take cognisance of the special cognitive abilities of tribal children. On the other hand however, forces of cultural adaptation reinforce tendencies of alienation within the Scheduled Tribes themselves, who now look to schools to provide linguistic and social competencies that will facilitate their equal integration in dominant society.

Equal integration however has been difficult for both SC and ST. Schools themselves have served as sites of caste, tribe and gender power relations. An appalling body of evidence suggests that teacher preconceptions, bias and behaviour, subtle or overt, conscious or unconscious, operate to discriminate against SC and ST children. Teachers belong to alien cultures. They speak alien languages which become an obstacle to symbolic adaptation, motivation and learning. Most demeaning are the stated or unstated assumptions held by teachers of SC and ST childrens' 'deficient' cultures, habits, behaviour and styles of speech, of their inherent intellectual incapacities and of their 'uneducability'. They lead teachers to adopt pedagogic practice and deliver teaching transaction that compound the situation of weak and discriminatory inclusion.

Indisputably the situation needs an urgent and serious response. The Focus Group has made several recommendations towards improving the larger institutional context without which

meaningful curricular reform will be difficult to achieve. We strongly reiterate the need for equitable provision of quality education, a more focused, need based and responsive implementation of positive discrimination programmes, improved teacher recruitment policy and teacher working conditions towards enhancement of teacher quality, status, competence and self esteem. We suggest a critical resolution of cultural dilemmas for developing culturally sensitive and transformative curricular policies and programmes. It is essential that curricular and pedagogic approaches are rooted in critical theory and critical multiculturalism to nurture expansive cultural identities oriented towards the larger public good. Curricular goals of teacher education need to be recast with an emphasis on theoretical and experiential knowledge to gain an understanding of as well as sensitivity to SC and tribal communities. School curriculum and pedagogy must provide opportunities for every child's learning and her free, creative and multidimensional development. The culture and experiences that the SC or ST child brings to the school must be integral to an egalitarian teaching learning process in fulfillment of the goal of a meaningful education for all children.

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CONTENTS

1. Introduction

This position paper critically examines the contemporary reality of schooling of children belonging to the Scheduled Caste (henceforth SC) and Scheduled Tribe (henceforth ST). The SCs and STs both comprise communities who were historically excluded from the formal education system—the former due to their oppression under caste feudal society and the latter due to their spatial isolation, cultural difference and subsequent marginalisation by dominant and so called mainstream society. There are thus significant differences between these two categories of the Indian population in terms of socio-economic location and the nature of disabilities faced. However, there is also growing common ground today in terms of conditions of economic exploitation and social discrimination that arise out of the impact of iniquitous processes of economic and social change. Concomitantly, the categories themselves are far from homogenous in terms of class, region, religion and gender and what we face today is an intricately complex reality marked by social inequality and cultural diversity. Bearing this in mind, this paper attempts to provide a contextualised understanding of the field situation of schooling of SC/ST children and of issues and problems that directly or indirectly have a bearing on their educational prospects.

The paper seeks to provide a background to the National Curriculum Framework Review being undertaken by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). It looks critically and contextually at educational developments among the SC/STs, with a view to arrive at an understanding of what policy and programmatic applications can be made, especially in the domain of curriculum, to improve their situation. The problems are many and complex. The paper explores varied nuances of this complexity and underscores the need for contextualised, differentiated, and sensitive analyses. It rests on the premise that a proper understanding of the educational problems of the SCs and STs requires that they be contexualised both within local socio-cultural milieux and wider socio-economic and political processes.

For India, a society that had lived for a millennium by a value system based on division and hierarchy, classically manifested in the system of caste-feudal patriarchy, the post-Independence constitutional commitment to social equality and social justice marked a watershed in its historical evolution. A synthesis of two ideologically divergent principles, that is, the principle of merit and the principle of compensation, constituted the modern Indian political discourse on equality and was operationalised in the establishment of democratic liberalism and the welfare state. Along with guaranteeing equality of citizenship, the state assumed the primary responsibility for compensating for histories of discrimination, exploitation, and marginalisation, by providing special support to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As is well known, SC and ST are not sociological but administrative categories of population identified by the Constitution of India for positive or compensatory discrimination. They intend to cover those who were at the bottom and margins, respectively of the Indian social order. The SC suffered low ritual and social status in the traditional social hierarchy, including the stigma of untouchability. The STs were largely socially and spatially isolated, and their lived cultures were distinct from caste Hindu society (Galanter, 1984).

Special state institutions were set up for the advancement of the SC/STs and various legislations, social policies, and programmes were drafted, which were geared to uplifting their socio-economic status

and dignity and bringing about their integration and equality. It has been difficult, however, to identify these categories in terms of criteria laid down by the state. The 'problem' of the STs has been particularly vexing, given the various levels of social and cultural distance and the varying degrees of voluntary or forced assimilation, economic exploitation, with or without being subject to experiences of displacement. There are also problems of overlap with caste and controversy as to whether a specific group can more appropriately be classified as SC or ST (Galanter, 1984).

Education was perceived as crucial to the processes of planned change as envisioned by the state. It was regarded as a key instrument of equalising opportunity for the poor and downtrodden castes/classes, women and tribes – the 'great equalizer'. In the post independence context of massive state supported expansion and democratisation of schooling and the institution of policies of positive discrimination to facilitate access, the SC and ST began the hard struggle to gain formal education (see Report of Commissioner of SC/ST, 1998; Kamat, 1985). The state's special promotional efforts have undoubtedly resulted in educational progress for the SC/STs, especially in regions where policy implementation combined with the dynamism of reform, and with anti-caste, dalit and tribal or social movements.

The last two decades however have spelt the decline of the welfare state and we have witnessed significant shifts in educational policy. Under the powerful impact of global, neo-liberal economic policies, the egalitarian ethic underlying planned change and social developmental goals are being rapidly decimated. The new economic policy which emphasises a pre-eminent role for markets and profits has provided the legitimacy and impetus for a number of educational reforms that threaten the national educational goal of equalising educational opportunities. The state is withdrawing from the social sectors of education and health and gradually assigning its welfare commitments to private business organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The State-business-NGO partnerships have launched massive programmes aimed at universalisation of elementary education. There is already serious indication that the basic educational needs of vast sections of SC/STs which are still unmet are being seriously undermined under the new dispensation.

Given these trends, the importance of bringing into focus the educational status and educational problems of SC/ST children in the National Curriculum Framework can hardly be exaggerated. The discussion in this paper is organised into six sections. Section I is an introduction to the subject of this paper. Section II provides a backdrop to the main analysis. It highlights the social location of SCs and STs in a changing social, economic, and political scenario. It next captures current trends in school educational participation of SC/STs. The paper moves on to a qualitative appraisal of the contemporary location of SC/ST children in the school setting and explores facilitating factors and multiple obstacles to their progress. Sections III, IV, and V are devoted to understanding the contemporary reality of the schooling of SC/ST children. Sections III and IV pertain, to issues of educational provision and curriculum and pedagogy respectively. Section V critically examines internal classroom and school processes with a view to ascertain whether and how schools function as sites of discrimination. Section VI highlights the general conclusions drawn from the analysis and puts forward key issues and major recommendations of the Focus Group that merit serious consideration in formulating educational and curricular policies, if education is to serve as an instrument of equality and justice.

The paper is based on data drawn from the Census and from data bases complied by the National Sample Survey, NCERT and the Ministry of Human Resource Development and other secondary sources. Data sources also include educational surveys and field-based case studies. Experiential accounts of teachers, educational workers and administrators gathered especially for this report by the Focus Group have provided valuable insights. The paper attempts to synthesise findings from these varied sources towards understanding the ground realities of education of SC/ST. All sources are listed in the Bibliography and Appendices. It should be stated at the outset that available data varies in terms of quality and reliability. It must also be emphasised that there is a dearth of systematic research on several crucial areas. A major limitation of the analysis is the inability to fully capture inter-regional variations. There is a dearth of studies for certain regions, and for others we were unable to locate available material.

2. THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES: SOCIAL CONTEXT AND CURRENT EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

2.1 Contemporary Socio-Political Context of SC and ST

The Scheduled Castes–The SCs today constitute around 16 per cent of the Indian population. There are marked inter state and inter regional variations in terms of these proportions. Punjab has the highest proportion of SCs at 28 per cent and Gujarat the smallest at 7.41 per cent (see Appendix table 4). From a sociological point of view, apart from their increasing visibility in social life, the most significant contemporary fact concerning the SCs is their growing political and

cultural assertion and identity formation as 'dalit'. As pointed out by Beteille (2000), it is not easy to form a single consistent view of the present position of the SCs because regional diversity is so large and the balance between continuity and change so uncertain[1]. Whereas in the past the social condition of the SCs was substantially governed by the ritual opposition of purity and pollution, the calculus of democratic politics has become important today (Beteille, 2000).

Along with urban migration, occupational change, political participation and religious conversion, education has been pursued by the SCs as a key strategy of socio-economic emancipation, status change, and acquisition of a new, self-respecting social identity. Anti-caste and dalit movements grounded in both moderate-reformist and radical emancipatory ideologies have provided the context for challenge and change. Education has been a central plank in liberationary struggle and dalit leadership has placed immense faith in the counter-hegemonic potential of education. Ambedkar's philosophy and clarion call of 'Educate, Organise, Agitate' generated a massive response from the people.

Despite rising education levels, the contemporary status of the SCs is not unmarked by the rigours of pollution, social practices of untouchability, and social relations of servility. However, intensities of these practices vary between different parts of the country. Widespread upsurges of atrocities against the SCs signifies class conflicts as well as the continued existence of caste-based oppression. Caste and occupation were closely interlinked in the traditional socio-economic order, and the lowest manual and menial occupations were reserved for the SCs. This link has gradually been broken but not completely and large numbers continue

[1] *For insights into the contemporary social situation of SCs in seven States of the country see Beteille, A (ed.), Special Issue of Journal of Indian School of Political Economy, 2000.*

to be concentrated in menial occupations. Shifts to caste-free occupations have taken place with the arrival of new opportunities in rural employment and petty business as well as through education-based occupational and social mobility in modern organised sectors. The reservation policy enabled upward movement into middle class status. However, the majority of rural SCs are landless and impoverished agricultural labour, within whom SC women face multiple subordination. Economic exploitation continues to sustain and reinforce the social position of the SCs. Large sections of the SCs experience social discrimination and stigma particularly those located in the tradition-bound and socio-economically 'backward' states/regions. Under the impact of post-1990s global processes, the poorest SCs have been most adversely affected and have become poorer. Studies have pointed to the growing incidence of poverty, rising levels of mortality and illness, rising levels of rural unemployment and wage squeeze. They have ascertained declining levels of consumption shares, real wages, and consumer monthly per capita expenditure among the SCs (Teltumbde, 1996, 2000, 2004; Thorat and Deshpande, 2001; Thorat, 2002; Nancharaiah, 2002).

The Scheduled Tribes– A conspicuous trait of Indian culture is the survival of tribal society and culture in the midst of a rapidly changing society. The STs who inhabited mountainous and other isolated regions, were not appropriated into the agriculture-based kingdoms of the plains in the general absence of easy communication and transport facilities, remained outside of Hindu civilisation. According to the Census of 2001, the STs constitute 8.1 per cent of the Indian population. In absolute terms this amounts to some 83.6 million people, classified under 461 different communities. They are spread over the entire country but are most heavily concentrated in central, eastern, and north-eastern India. Two broad types of scheduling, viz., area-based and community-based, exist for tribes. Areas under the Fifth Schedule belong to nine major states of the western and central regions of India, extending from Maharashtra in the west to Jharkhand in the east. Vulnerable tribal populations of some States, such as, West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala are, however, left out. The Sixth Schedule applies to tribal areas in the States of the North-East.

Unlike the relatively dispersed SC population, about 90 per cent of the STs are found in a few States. Orissa and Madhya Pradesh account for more than 20 per cent of the total ST population. More than 50 per cent live in parliamentary constituencies where they form the majority. They are defined partly by habitat and geographic isolation, but more on the basis of socio-religious, linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. The STs occupy a belt stretching from the Bhil regions of western India through the Gond districts of central India, to Jharkhand and Bengal where the Mundas, Oraons, and Santhals predominate. There are also pockets of ST communities in the south and very small endangered communities in the Andamans. North East India has a large proportion of the ST population, including the different Naga sub-tribes (Sundar, forthcoming 2006).

Tribes represent to differing levels, oppositional cultural principles of organising life which reflect varying histories of assimilation and exploitation (Omvedt, n.d.). Colonialism marked a turning point in the history of the tribals. The economic interests of the colonists required large-scale acquisition of natural resources, reducing tribals to positions of economic and cultural subservience vis-à-vis non-tribal communities. Forced absorptions continue

to take place at the behest of aggressive and dominant economic and political forces. Anthropologists have more often than not classified tribes according to various stages of cultural development, which provide a broad idea of intra-tribal variations. The problems confronting the relatively isolated ST populations deemed as 'purest of pure' groups are qualitatively different and demand different approaches to their problems. The rest having differing levels and nature of contact with the plains are in differing stages of transition to Sanskritised and Hinduised existence (Roy Burman, 1994; Xaxa, 1999). Some remain distinctive societies, cultures and identities in a socially significant sense. Some belong to the old autocracy-for example, the powerful Bhils and the wealthy Santhals, Oraons, and Mundas, who have won historical battles of cultural contact (Desai, 1969). Yet others are looked upon by caste and peasant societies as 'backward' Hindus, ST only in name, having been uprooted from the tribal mode of life by bonded slavery.

Like the SCs, the consequences of 'mainstreaming' through education and employment have impacted this group of tribals and they largely occupy the lower social rungs. Christian missionaries have been responsible for spreading education among tribal populations in various parts of the country—a development that has had diverse social and political consequences for the tribes. Importantly in a manner similar to the SCs, political assertiveness and middle-class entry have created among the STs a gap between tribal elites and the rest. The North-East tribal society, located in the peripheral, extreme eastern region came under both colonial and Christian influences. However, the magnitude of the Christian impact as a motive force to modernisation has varied between these tribal regions (Ahmad 2003; Bara, 1997). On the whole, small sections of tribal groups have benefited, while majority remain impoverished.

Capitalist developmental onslaught on the tribal way of life by the Indian state and by national and global business interests has brought about further economic ruin for the STs. Large-scale alienation and dispossession of land and natural resources and displacement due to mega development projects such as big dams, power plants, etc., have pushed the tribals into conditions of stark economic deprivation. Those who once led a bountiful existence now struggle for basic livelihoods. As pointed out by Chalam (1993) scores of studies show how these processes have worked in tribal dominated regions (see also Pathy, 2000; Punalekar, 2000; and Sundar, forthcoming 2006). Post the 1990s, the flow of funds for Tribal Sub-Plans is declining, further worsening an already unsatisfactory situation created by a faulty implementation strategy that was adopted since their inception in the Fifth Five Year Plan (Chalam, 1993; Sharma, 1994).

What is the contemporary educational status of the SC and ST groups? In a forthcoming section, we review their quantitative achievements. Before that, however, we recapitulate in brief current State provisions.

2.2 State Provisions for the Education of SCs/STs and Recent Trends in their Educational Progress

State commitment to the education of SC/ST children is contained in Articles 15(4), 45, and 46 of the Indian Constitution. Article 15(4) underscores the state's basic commitment to positive discrimination in favour of the socially and educationally backward classes and/or the SCs and STs. Article 45 declares the state's endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. Article 46 expresses the specific aim to promote with

special care the educational and economic interests of SC/STs. In its effort to offset educational and socio-historical disadvantage, the Indian state conceived a range of enabling provisions that would facilitate access of SC/ST children to school, and enable their retention at the middle and/or high school stage. Both Central and State governments took up the responsibility of making special educational provisions. In the first two Five Year Plans, the focus was on making available the basic facility of schools, especially in remote and tribal areas, and also providing scholarships and books. The scope of enabling interventions expanded considerably after the Fourth Five Year Plan. In the wake of the discovery in the early eighties of poor educational progress registered by SCs and STs, the education policy of 1986 recommended the need to provide greater support to their education.

Centrally sponsored schemes, applicable at the school level include grants in aid to voluntary organisations working among SC/ST; pre-matric scholarships including special scholarships for children of castes and families engaged in unclean occupations like scavenging and tanning and flaying of animal skin; and girls and boys hostels at middle and high school level. More recently, the Central government introduced a scheme of providing a package of inputs for SC girls in districts where SC female literacy is low due to a tradition bound environment (Chatterjee, 2000). Special schemes implemented by the States include: (a) free supply of textbooks and stationery at all stages of school education; (b) free uniforms to children in government-approved hostels and ashram schools, and also in some States for children in regular schools; (c) free education at all levels; (d) pre-matric stipends; (e) lodging facilities in hostels for backward classes and in general hostels; and (f) ashram schools for tribal children, started with the intention of overcoming the difficulties of provisioning in remote regions.

In addition, several States have instituted schemes such as scholarships to SC students studying in private schools, merit scholarships, attendance scholarships for girls, special school attendance prizes, remedial coaching classes and study centres, reimbursement of excursion expenses, student loans, vocational craft classes, training centres for self employment, awards and houses to teachers and provision of mid-day meals. The last has been recommended as an integral element in schooling by the Working Group on Development and Welfare of the Scheduled Castes during the Eighth Five Year Plan (Kamat, 1985; Chatterjee, 2000).

2.3 School Participation of SC/ST Children

Studies carried out in the initial decades after Independence and in particular, the landmark report of the Commission of SC/ST of 1986-87 showed that educational progress till the mid 1980's was slow and uneven [Kamat, 1985; Government of India (GOI), 1990, 1998; Velaskar, 1986]. Here, we examine recent trends in enrolment, attendance, and drop out for SC/ST children. The main sources of data that have been utilised are the Census, reports of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), and reports of the Commissioner and Commission for SC/ST. We have also drawn upon existing empirical studies (Nambissan, 2000; Sujatha, 1987, 1994, 1996, 2002; Aggarwal and Sibou, 1994).

Literacy levels are a crude indicator of overall educational progress and also serve as an index of opportunities for education provided and availed in the past. Literacy rates for the SC and ST stand at 54.69 per cent and 34.76 per cent in 2001. Appendix table 1 shows that sharp differences in literacy rates persist between the general and SC/ST populations especially in rural areas. The ST rural female literacy rate has

doubled since 1991 but is still the lowest of all at 32.4 per cent in 2001. SC rural female literacy is 37.6 per cent. Rural SC and ST women lag considerably behind their male counterparts and also behind non SC/ST women.

Examining educational progress and problems of the SC/STs, a nation-wide study conducted in the mid-1970s came to the conclusion that, while significant strides had been made there was still a 'long way to go' as far as their educational progress was concerned (Chitnis, 1981). While such a nation-wide study has not been replicated, the situation today is not as encouraging as it should have been after sixty years of state effort to universalise elementary education. The following sections provide the details :

Education of Scheduled Castes–The growing demand for schooling among the SCs is reflected in the significant increase in both enrolment ratios and attendance rates. According to the latest report of Ministry of Human Resource Development (2005-06), twenty-three million Scheduled Caste boys and girls are enrolled in Classes I to V, 8 million in Classes VI to VIII, 4 million in Classes IX to XII in 2003. At the higher education stage, enrolment drops to 1 million (GOI, 2006).

Enrolment ratios (percentage enrolment of population in the age-group corresponding to the standard) are rather unreliable indicators of actual educational progress. They are considerably inflated by over-reporting and enrollment of over age children. Appendix table 2 shows that for the general population enrolment ratios were 98.20 per cent and 62.40 per cent in 2003 at primary level and at middle levels respectively. Appendix Table 3 shows corresponding figures for the SCs, which are 88.30 per cent and 71.86 per cent respectively at the primary and middle school levels. The ratio for the SCs ranges from a high of 137.81 per cent

in Manipur to a low of 60.97 per cent in Jharkhand at the primary level. At the middle level, Karnataka ranks first with an enrollment ratio of 102.77 per cent and Bihar is last with 32.10 per cent (GOI, 2006). Among the large states with significant SC populations, SC enrollment is poorest in States that have lagged behind on indicators of socio-economic development, such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand.

Appendix Table 4 enables a better picture of educational progress by comparing percentage enrolment of Scheduled Castes with their percentage in the population in rural and urban areas. We find that in none of the states is the primary level enrolment ratio for the SC lower than their percentage in the total population. At the middle level, Bihar, Jharkhand and Karnataka are states where enrolment percentage of SC is much lower than their percentage in the population. At high school, SC enrolment in thirteen states falls short of their population percentage viz., Punjab, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Uttaranchal, Rajasthan, Karnataka and also Kerala. In Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, enrolment percentage surpasses population percentage in rural and urban areas at all levels of schooling.

Data for current school attendance of children in the 5–14 years age group, however, deflate the scenario of impressive gains in enrollment. They suggest that the task of enlisting full educational participation of SC children in school continues to be challenging. Earlier studies had found around 20 and 29 per cent of non-attendance in 5-10 and 10-14 years age groups in the late nineties. It has been expected that the spate of new government schemes and programmes would have a positive impact especially in hitherto educationally backward States. Large gains were claimed among SC and ST groups and girl children.

Appendix Table 5 shows attendance rates for all, SC and ST boys and girls in the age group 5-14 years in rural and urban areas for the year 2001. At the all-India level, attendance rates are 62 per cent for the total rural population and 75 per cent for the urban. For the SC, the rates stand at 59.96 per cent and 70.68 per cent. In most states, SC children lag behind all presumably 'forward' caste boys and girls. However in rural Maharashtra and Gujarat, SC childrens' attendance rate is higher than that of all children and in Tamil Nadu almost equal to that of all children. Attendance rates for SC children are highest in Kerala (88.11%) and lowest in Bihar (28.19 %). For boys too, they are the lowest in Bihar–only 34.43 per cent. Scheduled Caste girls in rural Bihar are the worst off, with an abysmal attendance rate of 20 per cent. Rural SC girls also have low participation rates in Jharkhand, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh.

Gender gaps within the SCs are sizeable in most States except Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, and Assam. It is also important to note that in some States like Punjab, for instance, where SC attendance rates are higher than national attendance rates, the gap between SC and non-SC is quite large.

Drop out rates for all and SC students for the year 2003-04 are presented in Appendix table 8. For the former, drop out for girls at the primary stage is lower at 28.57 per cent than boys (33.74%). However, more than 50 per cent, drop out by Class VIII. For SC girls and boys, the corresponding figures at primary stage are higher at 36.19 per cent and 36.83 per cent. Between Classes I-VIII, however, the figure jumps to 62.19 per cent for girls and 57.33 per cent for boys. At the primary stage, the nine states in which SC drop out is larger than the national average include Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Meghalaya, Orissa, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. However, drop out of SC girls is distinctly smaller than that of boys in some of these states such as Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Sikkim. It is highest in Meghalaya (59%) followed by Uttar Pradesh (56%) and least in Jammu and Kashmir.

· The impact of poor attendance and high drop-out rates is visible in low completion rates at the elementary school level. We do not have latest data on completion but caste-wise desegregation of data for the year 2000 for children in the 12-16 year age group shows that SC children compare poorly with non-SC groups. Only 43 per cent and 42 per cent respectively of SC children completed primary school and middle school in the respective age groups. Corresponding figures for the 'other' castes are much higher at 58 per cent and 63 per cent (NFHS, 2000 cited in Nambissan, 2004). Sharp inter-state differences exist in completion rates. Primary school completion rates for SC children are relatively high in Kerala (96% as compared to 100% for other castes). Maharashtra (79.21%) lags behind Kerala. In Tamil Nadu, the proportion of children who completed primary school is relatively low at 41.96 per cent. Rajasthan (35.15%) and Uttar Pradesh (30.52%) are the worst off. West Bengal has a shockingly low completion rate of only 19.28 per cent for SC children aged twelve. Middle school completion rates for 16-year-old SC children ranged from a low of 21 per cent in Bihar and 31 per cent in Rajasthan to 74 per cent in Maharashtra, 63.89 per cent in Tamil Nadu, and 90.8 per cent in Kerala (NFHS and World Bank studies cited in Nambissan and Sedwal, 2002).

Marked educational disparities also exist within the category of scheduled caste. For example, between the relatively advanced Mahar-Buddhists and Chambhars on the one hand and the Mangs on the other in Maharashtra, as also between the Malas and

Madigas in Andhra Pradesh, the Pallars and Parayars in Tamil Nadu, and the Ad-Dharmis and Mazhabis in Punjab. In Bihar, the Musahars are in a state of acute educational backwardness[2].

Education of the STs–Twelve million scheduled tribe children are enrolled at primary level in the year 2003-04 in India, three million at middle and 1.9 million at high school/higher secondary level (GOI, 2006). Enrolment ratios for ST children stood at 91.37 per cent and 75.76 per cent respectively, at the primary and middle school levels in the year 2003 (Appendix table 6). The ratios range from a high of 140.94 per cent in Sikkim to a low of 64.67 per cent in Uttar Pradesh at the primary level and from 117.98 per cent in Tamil Nadu to 40.29 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir at the middle school level. Enrolment ratios are over 90 per cent in Assam, Chattisgarh, Kerala, Karnataka, Lakshadweep, Himachal Pradesh, and Manipur. They are moderate in Meghalaya and Mizoram. In Nagaland, and West Bengal, they are below the national average. Nagaland has the lowest enrollment ratios among the states of the North East at both levels.

Appendix Table 7 compares percentage enrollment of STs with their percentage in the population of the various States. Enrolment percentage exceeds population percentage at all levels in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland and Meghalaya. In sixteen states, enrolment percentage is less than population percentage at middle and secondary school levels. They include states with moderate to high tribal populations such as Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Jammu, Kashmir, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Manipur, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh,

Rajasthan and West Bengal. The situation is moderately satisfactory in Assam and Tripura.

Appendix Table 5 indicates that school attendance rates of ST children in the age group 5-14 years for rural India stands at 53.09 per cent, nearly 10 percentage points lower than that of the general population and 6 percentage points lower than SC children. As with the SC, the attendance rate for ST are significantly higher at 70.89 per cent in urban India, a figure which is lower by only 5 per cent than the general rate and equalling that of the SC. Attendance rates are highest in rural Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, and Assam. In the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Orissa which have significant ST populations, rural attendance rates for boys are lower than the national average. The same states register lower female rural attendance with Rajasthan added to the list. In urban areas, the pattern of performance is more or less repeated with the same states doing well and badly in school attendance. Gujarat is the addition to the list of below average performers.

Rural attendance rates for ST girls is higher than boys in three states viz., Sikkim, Meghalaya and Kerala. In India as a whole and in other states, boys attendance is better than girls, the gap ranging from a low of 2.07 per cent in Mizoram to a high of 22.94 per cent in Rajasthan. For urban area, the overall gap is smaller at 4.43 per cent and inter-state variation ranges between 0.13 in Mizoram and 10.62 in Rajasthan. Gender gaps in attendance in both urban and rural areas are smallest in the general population, followed by the SC and lastly the ST.

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[2] *Many studies of the SCs have highlighted the socio-economic including educational disparities between caste groups. See, for example: Jodhka (2000) for Punjab; Jha (2000) for Bihar; Shah (2000) for Gujarat; Wankhede and Velaskar (1999) and Wankhede (2001) for Maharashtra; N. Sudhakar Rao (n.d.) for Andhra Pradesh; Pandian (2000) for Tamil Nadu; etc.*

Drop out rates among the ST children is known to be higher than the general at SC children. A majority of ST children who enrol in Class I drop out within a few years of entering school. The sharpest drop in enrolment of tribal children is between Classes I and II. Official drop out rates of tribal children from school in 1988–89 were as high as 78 per cent between Classes I and VIII. Almost 65 per cent of tribal children leave school between Classes I and V. Drop out rates are extremely high among girls in general (68%) and tribal girls in particular (82%) (NCERT, 1998 cited in Nambissan, 2000).

Figures for 2003-04 provided in Appendix table 8, suggest only a slight improvement in the situation. Drop out is massive at 70.05 per cent between Classes I-VIII and 48.93 per cent between Classes I-V among tribal children in the country as a whole. Tribal girls show a slightly lower drop out (48.67%) than boys (49.13%) at primary level but higher drop out between I-VIII at 71.43 per cent. More than half of the enrolled ST children drop out at primary stage in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Chattisgarh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, Orissa, and West Bengal. Drop out between Classes I-VIII is much higher than the national average of 70 per cent in all these states along with in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu. There exist sharp differences between the states in terms of most indicators of educational progress.

Intra-tribal variations prevail in levels of educational attainment. In the State of Meghalaya, it is the Naga tribe, which is the most literate. In Arunachal Pradesh, a huge gap in literacy is indicated between the Khamiyargs and the Panchan Morpa, and in Orissa between the Kulies (36.4 per cent) and the Mankirdias (1.1 per cent) (Sharma, 1994). Specific studies of educational disparities between and within tribal groups need to be conducted.

2.4 Summing up and Explaining Persistent Educational Inequality

Several crucial points emerge from the brief survey of recent levels of educational attainment of the SC and ST reported above. We have not reviewed regional studies due to constraints of space. They provide further supportive evidence[3]. First, the data shows that a significant proportion of SC and an even greater proportion of ST children in the school going age continue to remain out of school. Increasing enrolment has not meant effective or equal access. Second, on a more positive note and notwithstanding the tendency to overestimate, the unprecedented rise in enrollment of both SCs and STs suggests a growing demand and aspiration for education. Third, the situation regarding school attendance, school completion and drop out at both primary and middle school levels is unsatisfactory. Thus, inability to survive in school is a problem that afflicts SC/ST children to a greater extent than it does the rest, presumably forward caste children. Fourth, unevenness in educational participation levels persists (despite a narrowing down) between states. SCs and STs in politically neglected states like Bihar suffer gross educational deprivation. Sharp rural-urban disparities exist with urban SC/STs ahead and rural SC/STs lagging behind. There is regional imbalance within a State too – an issue that is being addressed through area-intensive educational programmes. Gender

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[3] These studies include: Chalam (1993); Dreze and Sen (1995); Ahmed (1984) for tribal regions; Sachchidanand (1989, 1997) for Bihar; Chitnis and Velaskar (1988) and Velaskar (ongoing) for Maharashtra; Behera (1999) for Orissa; Mathur (1992) for Kerala; Aggarwal and Sibou (1994), which gives an all-India analysis besides focusing on Uttar Pradesh; studies for various other states are available in Vaidyanathan (2001).

disparity is appreciably small in some states, but stark in others where girls are conspicuously behind boys. Even in relatively advanced states like Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Punjab there are marked gender disparities on all quantitative indicators pointing to the under-education of girls. Fifth, though we have not systematically compared the two categories, STs appear to lag behind SCs in most of the larger states where both categories are well represented.

The data reveals intricate patterns of disparities and of advance and backwardness vis-a-vis the states which cannot be discussed fully here. Educational advance has been noteworthy especially at the primary level in hitherto backward states such as Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Possibly the special educational programmes have had an impact in the former two states and political mobilisation and capture of political power by dalits is the reason in the latter case. However, enhancement of attendance and completion has not been as impressive in these states and so is the case with progress at middle levels, especially for SC and tribal girls. The North-Eastern states too present a mixed picture with a few having progressed far ahead of the rest.

It is clear that large number of SC/ST children are still struggling to attain equitable educational access. Where equal educational opportunity in elementary education has not been achieved even in terms of access and survival, the goal of equality of SC and ST children's learning achievements vis-a-vis other children seems remote. Disparities in scholastic achievement between non SC/ST and SC/ST students, an area where we have little systematic comparative data, are glaring as revealed by micro studies[4]. Basic educational

deprivation and exclusion remain depressing features of the educational conditions of SC/ST children.

How do we explain this condition and continued failure? We are not permitted a full engagement with this question within the scope of the present paper. While educational structures and processes underlie the failure, social structural factors continue to be fundamental for educational attainment. The brevity of the discussion conducted here is not intended to undermine the significance of social structure. As Section II above has noted, the SC/STs are sucked into the vortex of rural and urban informal labour markets and suffer a disproportionate ill-effect of contemporary economic exploitative processes. Located at the bottom of polarised class formations, they live under conditions of acute poverty, displacement, and forced migration in search of livelihoods. Such changing caste relations have meant a bleak class reality in which there is little motivation for education. Socio-cultural practices of exclusion and discrimination rooted in caste, class, gender, and ethnicity continue to define the existence of poor SCs. Caste-class relations and hierarchical values of cultural oppression are crucial to the denial of education. It has been established with sufficient certitude that a sizeable section of the population is too poor to regularly participate in an education which is far from free and entails unaffordable costs (Tilak, 1996, 2000). A recent study with an all-India sample found that poverty, caste, gender and tribal status act as fundamental deterrents to educational access and attainment (Jha and Jhingran, 2002). Children of low caste/class and tribes labour at home and outside. Hunger, under/malnourishment and ill health are widely prevalent among working and non working children. Casteism and discrimination in social

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[4] See, for example: Aikara (1997); Sharma (1997); Berntsen (1990) and NCERT, (n.d)

relations breeds low self-esteem especially among the politically and economically weakest SC/ST groups. Dominant cultural capital viz., knowledge and skills of higher caste/class groups that schools demand are lacking among the SC/STs. Their own cultural capital as we shall later see, is deemed valueless by policy and curriculum-makers, bureaucrats and teachers. Thus, class along with caste and other forms of minority ethnicity, are fundamental categories of social exclusion and social discrimination. Community, family, culture, and ideology are reproduced in a variety of ways that have specific implications for schooling [Velaskar, 2004(b)].

Gender, the oldest category of subordination, works against women and girls of SC and also ST communities. Some of these communities which have had histories of egalitarianism, are today largely patriarchal. Girls are tied to reproduction of the reproductive order. In a patriarchal regime of compulsory early marriage and motherhood and compulsory labour, the persistent traditional role for girls is to rear children and perform domestic labour. Dalit and tribal women and girls hold largely subordinated positions in caste/gendered organisation of modern forms of public and private labour. Women are located below men in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations and in caste and subsistence labour in rural areas. They are in most hazardous, low status and low-paying occupations in urban informal sectors. These realities of reproductive (domestic) and productive (wage) labour shape educational choices of girls, which actually reflect choices and cultural expectations of their families and communities. Even as the cultural atmosphere for their education has become more favourable and girls are increasingly going to school, limits are clearly set on their educational advance. Girls may aspire to schooling and may also perform well in studies. However, parental motivations and daughters' education levels are largely defined by the cultural ideals of domestic work and marriage. Education is viewed as a male cultural resource. The cumulative impact of these social forces is evident in the gender differences in educational attainment within SC/ST categories that our data have shown [Velaskar, 2004(a)].

Several studies have affirmed that patterns of educational inequality (of both access and completion) have multiple bases in these structural conditions which are continuously evolving in interaction with regional, economic developmental imbalances and political factors[5]. Clearly, societal constraints are formidable for the SC/STs especially the girls. The next section examines how these structures intervene in the educational system. We examine the Indian schooling system and what it offers to SC/ST children.

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[5] *Studies have pointed to caste/class, gender, and cultural constraints to educational access and attainment. These include:*

a. All-India studies: *see Govinda (2002); Probe (1999); Jha and Jhingran (2002); and Vaidyanathan and Nair (2001).*

b. For Central and North India: *See Kaul et al. (1991) for Delhi; Raj Tilak (1995) for Himachal Pradesh; Agarwal (1992) for Lucknow city; and Lakhera (n.d.) for Garhwal. All of the above are cited in NCERT (2000). See also Talib (2003) for Delhi; Mukul (1999) and Kumar (2004) for Bihar; and Lidhoo (1987) for Kashmir.*

c. For South India: *See Furer-Haimendorf (1989) for Andhra Pradesh; Halbar (1986), Rao (1988), Eswaraih (1996), and Rama Krishnaiah (1997) for Telegana. All cited in NCERT (2000). For Tamil Nadu see Parameswara (1990); and for Karnataka see Krishnaji (2001).*

d. For East India: *See Acharya (1987) for West Bengal; Bhargava (1987), Sahoo (1989), Padhy and Satpathy (1989), and Biswal (1991) for Orissa; Toppo (1978) and Rana and Das (2004) for Jharkhand.*

e. For Western India: *Shyamlal (1987), Gaur (1990), and Bairathi (1991) for Rajasthan; and Solanki (1993) for Dadra and Nagar Haveli, cited in NCERT (2000). See Henriques and Wankhede (1985), Wankhede (1998), Sreedhar (1999), and Velaskar (1998, 1999, 2004, 2005) for Maharashtra.*

3. Uneven and Unequal Provisioning as Prime Constraint to Educational Opportunity for SC/ST Children

The spread of schooling is a politico-economic process. Educational developments in colonial times bear adequate testimony to this assertion. The early post colonial history of educational expansion was characterised by the ubiquity of unequal diffusion and unequal provision of schools. For several decades after Independence, many regions along with remote villages and tribal habitations were not provided with educational facilities. The reason cited was the paucity of resources at the disposal of a new nation-state. However, political factors were equally at play. The result was a massive gap between the scale of the expansion required for universal access and actual provision. Furthermore, both the spread and organisation of the Indian education system reflect the caste, class, tribe, and gender-stratified structure of society and its hierarchical ideology. The situation has improved gradually, yet inadequate provisioning in terms of quantity and quality continues to serve as a key deterrent to educational participation of SC/ST children. As we shall see below, a small but significant percent of children are not provided within their habitation and have to walk over 3 km. for a primary school.

We can distinguish five key dimensions of unequal provision and unequal quality that adversely affect educational opportunity for SC/ST:

1. Inadequate availability and quality of schools.
2. Poor implementation of school level policies of positive discrimination.
3. Poor physical infrastructure of schools.
4. Inadequacy of teacher provision and the quality and quantity of the teaching transaction.
5. Poor provision of teaching–learning materials.

3.1 Inadequate Availability and Quality of Schools

Provision of schools within easy access has been relatively poor for the SC/ST children as compared to the general population. As surveys of education periodically conducted by NCERT have suggested, geographical location has been a significant predictor of whether a child will attend school. Where access to primary schooling was ensured, how far children from SC/ST will continue in school, was determined by area of residence. Scheduled Caste families usually live in spatially segregated clusters or habitations in multicaste villages. These residential patterns have had important implications for physical and social access to schools. The Seventh All India Educational Survey provides data about schooling facilities available for SC population living in predominantly SC habitations for the year 2002. It shows that vast majority viz., 92.84 per cent of the population is served by a primary school/section within/or within 1 km of the habitation. But there is 1.84% of the population for whom the school is available at a distance of more than 2 kms. At the upper primary level, the figure for those provided within 1 km radius, falls to 47 per cent. For another 13 per cent, an upper primary school is available more than 3 kms. away (NCERT, 2002). Provision of schooling facilities in predominantly SC habitations is far less as compared to their provision in other rural habitations[6]. Upper-primary schooling (schools/sections) is available in an even smaller

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[6] For each population slab, including those with more than 5000 persons, a relatively smaller proportion of SC habitations had primary schooling when compared to rural habitations in general. Only 15.3 per cent of predominantly SC habitations with a population of less than 300 persons, as compared to 21.4 per cent of general rural habitations within the same population slab, had primary schools/sections within them in the year 1993 (Nambissan and Sedwal, 2002).

number of habitations. On the whole, higher caste habitations within larger villages are better provided. Hierarchical norms still govern social relations for the SC and 'social' accessibility is largely a problem that affects them (Nambissan and Sedwal, 2002). Other underprivileged groups such as the denotified and nomadic tribes are often worse off.

Inequalities created by a situation of under provision have been exacerbated by a hierarchical schooling system. A pyramidal hierarchy characterises the schooling system which is organised in terms of school quality, social composition and cost of education (Velaskar, 1992). Rural schools especially those located in SC/ST areas rank at the bottom in terms of quality of infrastructural facilities and human resources as forthcoming sections will show. Rural schools serve as 'common' schools by default if not design. Those catering largely to low-caste and tribal children are invariably worst off. Sharp hierarchies characterise urban schooling systems of large towns, cities and the metropolis. Urban elite schools rank at the top and schools located in slums and impoverished areas at the bottom. Needless to say that the latter are overwhelmingly availed by SC/ST children.

Scheduled tribe communities, especially those residing in interior and inaccessible areas, have had a very raw deal. As Sujatha (2002) points out, interior habitations are small in size, scattered, and sparsely populated[7]. Most of the predominantly ST habitations are bereft of basic infrastructural facilities like transport and communication. The situation improved with the operationalisation of the Tribal Sub-Plan. Data from the Seventh Survey shows that 89 per cent of the ST

population has been provided with primary schools within a distance of 1 km and nearly 4 per cent have to travel more than 2 kms. Only 42 per cent of the population is provided with an upper primary school, and nearly a quarter of the ST population has to travel more than 3 kms for an upper primary education. Moreover, provision has not solved the problem of access because of difficult terrain, a problem faced by around one-fifth of the total ST population.

Wide interstate variations exist in the provision of schools at the primary level for the ST. Mizoram and Gujarat have the highest percentage of the ST population and habitations covered. Bihar occupies the lowest position. In several states viz., Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh the situation is unsatisfactory, with schools located more than a kilometre away. The non-availability of middle/high schools in the vicinity places further limitations on educational motivation and aspirations of ST children (Sujatha, 2002). Several micro studies also reveal the continued state of abysmal provisioning in many tribal pockets[8].

What we can surmise from available information is that though there has been a vast improvement over the last few decades, there are geographic areas and caste and tribe groups that are still left out of the provision net. Micro studies (some are referred to in footnote 5 above) can provide a better indication of who and where these groups are located. It is critical to address the needs of these educationally neglected groups. However, as the following section shows the opposite is in fact happening under the impact of global economic forces.

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[7] Nearly 63.4 per cent of ST habitations have less than 300 people covering one-fourth of total the ST population. While 22 per cent of ST habitations have less than 100 inhabitants, the population covered by these habitations is only 3.82 per cent of the total ST population (Sujatha, 2002).

[8] See: Sujatha (1987, 1994, 1996); Govinda (2002); Probe (1999); Vaidyanathan and Nair (2001) and Jha and Jhingran (2002).

3.2 Structural Adjustment in Education: International Funding, Privatisation and Access to the SCs and STs

The post liberalisation era has witnessed a basic shift in educational policy goals which has implications for both availability and quality of public education. Most fundamentally education is now geared to play a direct role in meeting the demands of a globalising economy in which certain sectors such as service and knowledge (including information technology) have emerged as fast growing. The linking of education with the global capitalist economy has spelt state withdrawal from its obligation of public funding of education. There is dependency on foreign borrowing for funding of basic educational commitments which has resulted in making education a component of the safety net (Kumar et al, 2001). There is growing involvement of NGOs as support or replacement for the state delivery system and cuts in government educational budgets have necessitated the axing of teacher salaries and school teaching positions as economy measures. The consequences of some of these actions are examined at appropriate places in the paper.

The state's response to international pressures and growing public demand for 'quality' education has been to launch massive, innovative educational programme such as DPEP, Lok Jumbish in Rajasthan and Education Guarantee Scheme in Madhya Pradesh and most recently the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. These high powered and massive programmes are funded by international donor agencies such as the World Bank, DFID, UNICEF who exert a definitive influence over direction, content and quality of mass education. The programmes have had some visible quantitative impact

(Ramchandran, 2004). In Madhya Pradesh, the number of formal primary schools increased from 16,548 in 1990–91 to 18,716 in 1998–99. During the same period 10,626 EGS schools, 1133 Tribal Welfare Department (TWD) schools, and a number of alternative schools were established. Consequently, the number of schools nearly doubled from 19,295 in 1992–93 to 34,131 in 1998–99(Nambissan and Sedwal, 2002). In West Bengal, the State Government sponsored alternative system of Shishu Shiksha Kendras is having encouraging results (Jha, 2003). However, the impact of alternative schools and educational innovations needs to be continuously and carefully assessed. Leclerq's [2003 (a)] detailed observations of the functioning of the Education Guarantee Scheme in the SC/ST dominated districts of Madhya Pradesh sound a worthy note of caution[9].

The expansion of private educational institutions at all levels signify growing disinterest of the state in seriously providing for and monitoring the quantity and quality of basic education of the poor. Studies have noted the growing presence of private schooling in elementary education, a fact obscured by government reports and statistics (Kingdon, 1996). There is a proliferation of private schools for the poor in urban, mofussil, and rural areas. Unrecognised schools, which are not accounted for in official statistics, have mushroomed in cities, towns, and larger villages (ibid., 1996). Surveys estimate that there were around 38,000 unrecognised primary schools in rural India in the nineties and currently there are over 40,000 (NCERT, 1999; 2002).

In U.P, for instance, private schooling is a fast growing enterprise. SC/ST children, presumably from

[9] *Several other researchers and serious observers of the educational situation have commented upon the decline in primary educational enrolment and attainment in recent years, despite the launch of massive and highly-funded educational programmes. See, for example: Berntsen, (n.d.); Sharma (1999); Kumar et.al. (2001); and Jha and Jhingran (2002). Also refer studies cited in note 10.*

relatively better off social backgrounds are increasingly accessing private schools (Pai, 2000; Jeffery, et al, 2005). According to the Sixth All-India Educational Survey (NCERT, 2002), 91.3 per cent of SC children in rural primary schools and 64.6 per cent of SC children in urban areas were enrolled in schools managed by government and local bodies. At the middle school level, a relatively larger proportion of SC children were enrolled in privately managed schools, more in urban (49.6 %) as compared to rural areas (32.9 %).

In India, as much as 32 per cent of the increase in urban primary school enrolment among SC boys between 1986 and 1993, was accounted for by private unaided (PUA) schools. In rural areas PUA schools accounted for a relatively smaller proportion of the increase in enrolments during this period, around 7 per cent for SC boys and 4 per cent for SC girls (Tilak and Sudarshan, 2000 cited in Nambissan and Sedwal, 2002). Primary and upper primary PUA schools are currently 98,897 in number (NCERT, 2002). Private education, however, does not necessarily mean a higher quality education for SC/ST children. The struggle for mobility leads SC/ST to private schools in the belief that private education is better quality education. However, private education for the poor is largely of an inferior quality. It generally entails dominance of commercial over educational interests. The cost is exorbitant and the sacrifices made to avail of it may not eventually prove worthwhile (Velaskar, 2003).

In comparison to state and much of recent private schooling on behalf of the underprivileged, missionary effort, although not free from inadequacies, has apparently been more efficiently organised—both in terms of the quality of education provided and management of the institutions (Kamat, 1985). This perhaps is the principal reason for the major influence they wield in educational and other matters in some ST dominated areas. Several studies have noted significant educational progress among Christian tribals and Scheduled Castes or in areas where missionaries are active in school provision (Toppo, 2000; Bara, 1997; Heredia, 1992). More recently, neo-right Hindu organisations have emerged as major contending forces and are aggressively pursuing tribal constituencies through a vast network of schools in several states (Sundar, 2002, 2005; Kumar, 2004; Saldanha, 1990).

3.3 School Level Policies of Positive Discrimination: Implementation and Impact

A crucial dimension of woeful provisioning for the SC/ST has been the poor implementation of enabling programmes meant to facilitate and support their children's schooling. For several years after independence, many of these programmes had a very limited implementation and their operation suffered from stark bureaucratic apathy. Yearly reports of the Commissioner for SC/ST and of other Special Committees set up from time to time by the government to look into the welfare of these groups and various academic studies have thrown light on the situation. The coverage of programmes is largely inadequate with demand outrunning supply. Poor implementation further reduces the reach. There is an absence of mechanisms to monitor the functioning of these programmes, limiting potential benefits of positive discrimination. Over time, the benefits have accrued largely to the relatively more powerful and better off SC/ST groups (Kamat, 1985; GOI, 1990). We present below a brief critical review of implementation of a few select schemes.

Pre-Matric Scholarships-The programme of pre-matric scholarships and stipends aims at providing incentive and financial support to SC/ST students in

order that they may continue in school after the primary level and move towards completion of schooling. Most states have introduced this scheme and it has grown significantly. Successive plans have supported expansion and increased funding. However, constraints of limited assistance and absence of middle schools in the area of residence, as we have seen above, operate. Children engaged in domestic or other work and who are of poor financial means are unable to cross even the first hurdle. There is also great delay in despatching scholarships to those assisted by the scheme (Sharma, 1994). Two and a half lakh children of those engaged in unclean occupation have recently availed of the scholarship scheme. However, several socially stigmatised occupational categories are not being reached – such as children of those engaged in flaying and tanning occupations (Chatterjee 2000).

*Ashram Schools-*Despite the fact that the vast majority of tribal children study in government day schools, Ashram schools were instituted to provide residential facility for those living in remote areas without schooling facilities in their vicinity. Various SC/ST Commissioner's reports and research studies provide insights into the functioning of these schools. Serious problems of inefficiency, mismanagement, nepotism, and corruption besiege Ashram Schools. Reports have commented upon shortcomings of the Ashram schools run by both government and voluntary agencies. They draw attention to the sub-standard levels of education and facilities provided and prevalence of malpractices, including the use of inmates as unpaid, forced labour (Roy Burman, 1965 cited in Kamat, 1985; GOI, 1990). We have some detailed accounts of the appalling living and educational conditions prevalent in Ashram schools in Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Andhra Pradesh. The problems highlighted include

poor construction, overcrowding, alienating environment, inadequate numbers and quality of teaching staff, lack of regular inspection, and lack of basic facilities for the children such as toiletries, uniforms and fans. For girls, lack of personal safety serves as a major deterrent (Kumar, 2004; Gare, 2000; Gogate, 1986; Furer-Haimendorf, 1989; Saldanha, 1990; Sharma and Sujatha, 1983; Ananda, 1994).

Clear vested interests have developed in the sanctioning and management of Ashram schools leading to many malpractices and much corruption. Politically and economically powerful tribal groups have gained disproportionately. On the whole, schools have reached out to limited proportions of SC/ST children.

*Hostels-*Provision of hostels is crucial for facilitating access to middle and higher levels of education. The girls hostels scheme was introduced in the Third Five year plan period (1961-66) and its scope in terms of provisions and finance has been steadily expanding. Subsequent to the success achieved by girls hostels scheme, boys hostels were started during the Seventh Plan (1985-90). The Working Group on Development of Scheduled Castes constituted during the Eighth Plan (1990-95) especially recommended its speedy implementation in educationally backward districts and states. Coverage of those utilising the hostel schemes has substantially increased, indicating a genuine demand for separate lodging and boarding arrangements (see Reports of the Commissioner for SC/ST, also Chatterjee, 2000).

However, studies show that as in Ashram schools many problems afflict hostels. For instance, hostels in Maharashtra and Gujarat showed over utilisation and overcrowding, unhygienic living conditions, poor quality food and absence of medical facilities for the residents

(Wankhede, 1987). With increased demand for hostels, caste-based organisations are now important providers of such facilities. From personal accounts as well as research studies we have gathered that there is increased politicisation in provisioning which leads to indiscriminate opening of hostels and subsequent under utilisation (Chatterjee, 2000). Misuse of funds and premises and malfunctioning are rampant which skews the equity and efficiency objectives of the scheme. Badly maintained hostels are also unconducive as learning and living environments for the students defeating their very purpose (Ranasubhe, et al., 1997; Gare, 2000).

*Mid-day Meal Scheme-*This scheme holds significance for enrolment of SC/ST children who come from impoverished backgrounds. The scheme which originated in Tamil Nadu in 1982 is currently implemented in most states of the country. It has been recommended as an integral component of school system by the Working Group on Development and Welfare of the SC during the Eighth plan. A recent study conducted in Chattisgarh, Rajasthan, and Karnataka noted that mid day meals signified the end of classroom hunger and had an immense positive impact in terms of higher enrolment and attendance levels. The study, however, did not specifically report on SC/ST children (Dreze and Goyal, 2003). Interestingly, an evaluation of the scheme's recent performance in Tamil Nadu itself, suggests that it is currently not having a significant impact on educational attendance or enrollment. Most importantly, the study noted that implementation is poorer in schools where the social composition is predominantly SC (Swaminathan, et al., 2004).

In our Focus Group's personal interactions with them, some rural teachers both dalit and non-dalit from Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka raised the issue of caste discrimination. They narrated incidents where non-SC/ST children and teachers openly discriminated against SC/ST children in the course of preparing and eating meals in the school (teacher, personal account, Madhya Pradesh). At the same time, however, it was felt that if well handled, such classroom situations could also be turned around by teachers to break notions of pollution and prejudice.

Despite the several implementational weaknesses that we have pointed out, the entire gamut of facilitative policies have undeniably played an enabling role in accessing and completing schooling and perhaps accessing higher education for the SC/ST. Expectedly, however, utilisation by relatively politically and economically better off sections has increased in the context of class differentiation of SC/ST sections. Special benefits tend to circulate within the so called SC and ST elites, making access to middle and high school difficult for lower strata children.

3.4 The Poor State of School Infrastructure

State government and local body schools are accessed by children from all caste backgrounds in multi-caste villages. Studies suggest that infrastructural facilities are generally inadequate and particularly deplorable in both types of schools if they are predominantly accessed by SCs/STs and the poor. Buildings are dilapidated, ill-ventilated and badly in need of repair. Basic furniture and teaching equipment is non-existent or of pathetic quality. There is a high incidence of such poorly and irregularly functioning schools. We have reports from SC and tribal dominated areas of several states (including Punjab, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar) that reveal basic infrastructural poverty, such as, poor classrooms, absence of drinking water facilities, etc. and shortage of teachers. Reports of high levels of teacher

absenteeism and neglect have accumulated. Better conditions may also prevail in some regions. Studies pertaining to Garhwal, Himachal Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Kerala report on areas where provision of education to SCs/STs is fairly satisfactory. In certain areas of Maharashtra, for example, Zilla Parishad schools function fairly well (Berntsen, 1990)[10]. A common misconception is that rural schools are necessarily worse than urban ones. Rural schools may be in far better shape than urban municipal schools. The social composition of the former reflects a mix of higher and lower castes/classes. In urban areas which have a higher number of schools and greater choice for the middle classes, municipal schools cater almost exclusively to poor, lower caste and tribal populations[11].

3.5 Inadequate Teacher Provision and Teaching Transaction

A highly inadequate teaching force in terms of both quantity and quality in schools frequented by SCs/STs has been a serious facet of unequal provisioning. Schools for the poor have generally been characterised by high teacher-pupil ratios and single teacher schools. This results in multi-grade teaching which often amounts to very limited teaching transaction or no teaching at all! Teaching-learning problems created by an insufficient number of teachers are compounded by poor teaching-learning conditions. The latter are manifested in state policies and actions related to school teachers, gender discrimination against women teachers, shortcomings in teacher education and teacher attitudes and values arising out of caste, class and ethnic cultures.

It needs to be highlighted that poor working conditions can demotivate and demoralise even the most motivated of the primary school teachers. Teachers are expected to work in isolation and good work largely goes unrecognised and without reward. Worse still, the teaching function is frequently dislodged by the compulsion to perform all kinds of government duties. Teachers are subject to bureaucratic control and unfair accountability systems. Such demeaning working conditions underscore the low status of the primary school teacher, undermine her dignity and morale and is likely to negatively affect teaching performance.

Absence of motivation among teachers is reflected in the phenomenon of teacher absenteeism. Teachers for SC and ST children primarily belong to relatively higher socio-economic status and non-SC and

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[10] *Studies on unequal provisioning, availability and quality of schools include:*

  a. *K. Sujatha (1994, 2000); Kingdon (1996); Thakur (1997); Nambissan (1997, 2000, 2002); Probe (1999); Vaidyanathan, A. (2001); Govinda (2002); and Jha and Jhingran (2002). For a useful survey of literature on the quality of education in various parts of the country see Bhatty (1998).*

  b. *North India and Central India: Kailash (n.d.); Leclerq [2003 (a)] for Madhya Pradesh; Jodhka (2000, 2002) for Punjab; Talib (2003) for Delhi; Sachidanand (1989) and Jabbi and Rajyalakhsmi (2001) for Bihar; Abrol (1988) for Jammu; Kundu (1990) for Central India; Pande (2001) for Uttaranchal; Srivastava (2001) for Uttar Pradesh. All cited in NCERT (2000).*

  c. *South India: Furer Haimendorf (1982, 1989) and K. Sujatha (1994, 1996) for Andhra Pradesh; Kundu (1990) for South India; Duraiswamy (2001) for Tamil Nadu; and Thomas (2001) for Kerala.*

  d. *East India: For Orissa, Padhy and Satpathy (1989), Pasayat (2000), Bhargava (2001), Khora (2002); and Toppo (1979, 2000) and Rana and Das (2004) for Jharkhand. All cited in NCERT (2000).*

  e. *Western India: Shah and Joshi (1985) and Kumar (2004) for Gujarat; Sreedhar (1999), Panse (n.d.), Velaskar (2002), Wankhede (1998), Kulkarni (2001), Gogate (1986), Ransubhe (1997) for Maharashtra; Shyamlal (1987); Bhargava and Mittal (n.d.); Gaur (1990), Nambissan (2001), and Majumdar (2001) all for Rajasthan. All cited in NCERT (2000).*

[11] *The state of urban schools is reported in studies surveyed in Bhatty (1998). See also Banerji (1997, 2000); Berntsen (1990); and Wankhede (1998).*

non-tribal backgrounds. They tend to live outside the villages where they teach and are prone to irregular attendance. This is a common feature in schools located in remote especially tribal areas. There are reports of schools which remain closed for the better part of the year and at times for years on end and exist only on paper. A study of tribal education conducted in 18 tribal villages spread over seven states points to rampant teacher absenteeism in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. It is common for teachers to mark fictitious attendance of children (Jha and Jhingran, 2002). In the EGS school in an SC/ST dominated district of Madhya Pradesh which employed multi-grade teaching, the quantity and quality of teaching was problematically low [Leclerc, 2003 (a)].

Poor teacher competence is also a critical factor that afflicts learning among disadvantaged children. Even trained teachers are not necessarily 'good' teachers given the largely substandard quality of teacher education courses. Both knowledge and skill levels of teachers are unsatisfactory as revealed by studies across the country. Kerala too not an exception to the problem of low quality of teachers and their inability to cope with the curriculum (Thomas, 2001)[12].

The conjunction of several negative factors viz., poorly-organised school environments, absence/inadequate quantum of teaching-learning, the adoption of conventional and non-stimulating teaching methods result in dysfunctional teaching transactions and demotivated learning. The new policy on teachers advocates the exact opposite of what is needed. It has endorsed further dilution through appointment of contract teachers on low salaries and the consequences in terms of teaching quality and learning are largely negative (Govinda and Josephine, 2005).

3.6 Poor Provision of Teaching–Learning Materials

Schools frequented by poor SC and ST children also lack essential teaching-learning material. Studies have shown that blackboards, chalk, texts and other reading material, laboratory equipment, instructional aids are generally in short supply, of poor quality or simply nonexistent.

3.7 Teaching–Learning Conditions for the SC/ST: Decline and Dilution

The above described field reality of schooling has unfolded a depressing scenario of the facilities we make available for SC and ST children. We find that historical inequality in diffusion has been mitigated to a great extent, but unequal provision on all critical aspects related to effective and enjoyable teaching-learning continues to serve as a basic constraint to gaining an education. Provision falls short of quantitative needs and the most minimal of qualitative standards. Diffusion is as yet inadequate in many parts, leading to situations whereby 'social' accessibility persists as a problem for the SC child and the absence of even a

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[12] *There are studies galore that point to the lack of teachers and low teacher availability, quality, and teaching time. For the all-India studies, see note 10; see also Ramachandran and Saihjee, 2004 The regional studies are:*

a. *North India: Rahul (1999), Leclerq (2003) [AQ 2003 (a) or 2003 (b)], and Chaudhary, L.N. (Personal Account) for Madhya Pradesh; and Talib, (2003) for Delhi.*

b. *South India: Furer Haimendorf, (1989); Eddie Premdas (Personal Account) and P.K. Abdul Lateef, F.C. Chega Reddy, and K.H. Girish (Personal Accounts, Teachers from Karnataka).*

c. *East India: Khora (n.d.) and Debi (2001) for Orissa; Maitra (1993) for Arunachal Pradesh; Kabur (1985) for Manipur; and Rana and Das (2001) for Jharkhand.*

d. *Western India: Kulkarni (1980), Henriques and Wankhede (1985), Saldanah (1990), Berntsen (1990), Ranasubhe (1997) and Banerjee (1997) for Maharashtra; Kumar (2004) for Gujarat; and Shyamlal (1987) for Rajasthan.*

poorly functional school is a disadvantage that is imposed by the state on the tribal child. Caught in the quagmire of bureaucratic apathy, politicisation, political patronage and corruption, school level policies of positive discrimination achieve limited coverage and Institutions in charge deliver an appallingly poor quality of service. State institutions meant to play supportive roles reflect patronising and derogatory assumptions about facilities befitting SC and ST groups.

The decline in perception of education as a public good has proved most damaging. It has adversely affected state provisioning of schools and teachers and encouraged in its place the most substandard and commercially oriented private effort or spectacular but unsustainable innovations. Quality of mass education has declined to an abysmal level. Current policy changes have led to a rapid decline in teaching learning conditions in state schools and have exacerbated the grim situation in neglected regions and remote tribal areas. Several dimensions of educational inequality are conspicuous by their presence in schools for the SC and ST children and signify the decline and dilution in educational quality. Inferior learning opportunity is actualised in the poor quality of infrastructure, an inadequate and demotivated teaching staff, inadequacy of teaching transaction and inadequate provision of teaching-learning material. The model of 'minimum levels of learning' further compromises quality in no uncertain measure as learning goals of scholastic achievement at primary schools almost get reduced to literacy.

4. CRITIQUE OF CURRICULUM

Drawing from the insight that a clear link exists between knowledge selection, curriculum and the organisation and control of social and economic life (Apple, 1979), this section critically examines school curriculum from the perspective of SC and ST groups. It examines curriculum as a mediator of dominance and hegemony and explores ideological issues in the selection of knowledge that have a bearing on educating of oppressed groups. It also focuses attention on the issue of representation of subaltern groups, culture, and ideologies. The concept of curriculum is used here to designate the learning content and experiences designed for and delivered to pupils under the guidance of the school, in fulfillment of its curricular goals. Issues of pedagogic methods, assessment, and evaluation are closely related and also very important. Most issues in this area are predicated upon the assumption that appropriate content and experiences can indeed make a significant difference to learning and lives of children including SC/ST children.

Contrary to public rhetoric, the social vision shaping school curriculum in India is of a culturally and economically unequal society and not a just and egalitarian one. Curriculum privileges, consolidates and legitimises forms of knowledge and values that belong to and are deemed important by the dominant classes who belong largely to upper castes and the dominant Hindu religion. Moreover, the context of structurally unequal schooling system described in the previous section guarantees unequal distribution of what is counted by society as valuable and valued knowledge.

In India, curriculum and the content of education have been central to the processes of reproduction of patterns of caste, class, cultural and patriarchal domination–subordination. Post-Independence educational policy aimed at nationalisation and indigenisation of colonial curriculum. But within an ideological context dominated by social, intellectual and economic elites, Brahmanical knowledge and pedagogic practice acquired hegemonic status in framing of the

curriculum. By Brahmanical we mean knowledge, values and symbols that underscore and legitimise hierarchy and notions of innate superiorties and inferiorities. This has been evident in the curriculam's emphasis on (a) 'pure' language; (b) high caste literary and other 'knowledge' of society, history, polity, religion, and culture that reflect Brahmanical worldview, experiences and perspectives on Indian society and culture, and (c) high caste cultural and religious symbols, linguistic and social competencies, modes of life and behaviour, etc. In the light of dominant caste/ class, occupational, professional and social status interests, the overarching stress has been on eulogising mental as against manual labour. Women's specialised knowledge and skills find no place in a curricular texts where the female sex is presented in a stereotypical fashion. The fact that these stereotypes are also drawn from dominant group, makes them inapplicable and alien to SC/ST girls whose lives are governed by gender cultures of their own caste and tribal groups and caste/ gender specific gender divisions of labour.

School curriculum in India is, thus, urban elite, male-centric, and bereft of expressions of the country's rich cultural diversity and exposure to harsh social inequalities. There is a conscious devaluation of 'lesser' dialects, cultures, traditions, and folklore of dalits and adivasis as also of peasantry and dissociation between curriculum and the child's immediate environment (Kumar, 1992). Hierarchical ideology which enforces cultural acculturation on lower castes and classes does not entertain the idea of giving space to their cultural heritage on its own terms. 'Common' curriculum is heavily loaded in favour of urban more than rural and higher more than lower castes. This is a new area of research but studies have established class, gender and cultural bias in school text books which favour the Indian middle classes and work against labouring classes and castes. 'Neutral' portrayals of class formation and gender relations and positive portrayal of middle class attributes reinforce dominant ideology and hierarchical order (Acharya, 1981; Scrase, 1993).

4.1 Curriculum and the Scheduled Castes

For the SCs who have pursued education as an instrument of social transformation, the central issues are one of representation of their knowledge and culture in the curriculum and two of critiquing dominant knowledge and hierarchical value systems that govern their lived reality and social relationships. Structures and values of inequality are made invisible in the curricular discourse on common nationhood, common culture and common and equal citizenship, which all schools propagate. But for the SCs, the heart of the matter is structural oppression, not cultural difference. Of key curricular importance from their point of view are the oppressive aspects of traditional ways of life and negative constructions of subordinated groups and relations. For SC girls additionally, these needs to be a specific unravelling and challenging of caste/gendered processes in school curriculum.

Krishna Kumar's studies have focussed attention on how the dominant groups' ideas about education and the educated get reflected in the curriculum. Drawing from culture, Indian texts uphold symbols of the traditional, male-dominated feudal society and its obsolete cultural values and norms. That the value content of education is out of tune with the desired type of Indian society is a matter of choice—a choice consciously or unconsciously made by those selecting textbook material from the available body of literature. Worthwhile knowledge is that which is linked to the values and lifestyles of dominant groups (Kumar, 1983, 1989, 1992).

According to Kancha Ilaiah, knowledge and language of lower castes are rooted in and structured around productive processes and around socio-cultural surroundings of their habitat. This knowledge and its associated skill-based vocabulary, both of which are highly developed find no place in the school curriculum. Nor do stories, music, songs, values, skills, knowledge, traditions, and cultural and religious practices (Ilaiah, 1996; personal account, teachers, Karnataka). Contemporary dalit literature is similarly disregarded. Lives, values, and norms of upper-caste Hindus, which are strange and alienating for the lower castes, continue to be imposed. To quote Ilaiah:

> "Right from early school up to college, our Telugu textbooks were packed with these Hindu stories. Kalidasa was as alien to us as the name of Shakespeare. The language of textbooks was not the one that our communities spoke. Even the basic words were different. Textbook Telugu was Brahmin Telugu, whereas we were used to a production-based communicative Telugu. It is not merely a difference of dialect; there is a difference in the very language itself (Ilaiah, 1996)"

The dominance of epistemology and content of the politically powerful intellectual classes makes curricular knowledge ideologically loaded. Apart from curriculum framers appointed by the state, the only indigenous educational philosophers who have received national attention like Gandhi, Tagore and Krishnamurti—all belong to higher castes. Curriculum has not incorporated the anti-hegemonic, anti-caste and anti-patriarchal discourses of Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar, or Iyotheedas. Nor has it reflected upon the historical significance of caste, gender, and tribe, or the challenges posed to it by dalit epistemology, knowledge, and protest. This should have been done through literature and social science curricula.

An incipient curricular ideology relevant for the SC/ST is available in the writings of Phule and Ambedkar among others. Phule, the anti-caste social revolutionary from Maharashtra saw education as a potent weapon in the struggle for revolutionary social transformation. For him, the purpose and content of education were radically different from both Brahmanical and colonial models of education. His ideal was an education that would bring an awareness among the lower castes of oppressive social relations and their hegemonic moral and belief systems which pervaded their social consciousness. He believed that education should ideally instil western secular values, encourage critical thought, and bring about mental emancipation. It should fulfil practical and vocational needs but must also be broad based enough to inspire a social and cultural revolution from below (O'Hanlon, 1985; Velaskar, 1998). In the course of the long struggle for dalit liberation, Ambedkar developed an ideology that incorporated a critique and reinterpretation of India's cultural heritage. His rich philosophy was drawn from a wide range of social thought and provided the basis for an action programme which laid equal stress on a social and cultural revolution as it did on an economic and political (Omvedt, 1994). Like Phule, Ambedkar defined the purpose of education in terms of mental awakening and creation of a social and moral conscience. Education was also a means of overcoming both inferior status and inferior state of mind, and of wresting power from the powerful. Thus, the Ambedkarian agenda for education emphasised as much the creation of rational and critical thinking capacities as it did the socialisation into a new humanistic culture and ideology and inculcation of self-respect (Velaskar, 1998).

Clearly Phule-Ambedkarian ideology went way beyond a narrow theory of modernisation and

technocracy and critically adapted Western ideology and values toward the emancipation of India's downtrodden. Ilaiah in fact argues that these values of equality, freedom and justice are constitutive of lived-in realities of dalit-bahujans, hence they are indigeneous (Ilaiah, 1996). Dalit and non-Brahman leaders drew on western philosophical traditions to build an ideology and praxis of revolutionary transformation of the Hindu social order. They aimed at establishing a socialist social order underpinned by a new morality, based on values of liberty, equality, fraternity, and rationality (Omvedt, 1994, Gore, 1993). However, school curriculum in India failed to reflect these expressions of a new moral order. National or state school curricula or teacher education curricula were never consciously guided by new values. The SCs and their issues and problems remained peripheral to the curriculum and their representation in it if at all, has been weak and distorted.

4.2 Curriculum and the Scheduled Tribes

Like the SCs, curriculum does not acknowledge the cultural rights of the STs, who are denied their own culture and history. School curriculum fails to take account of tribal cultures as autonomous knowledge systems with their own epistemology, transmission, innovation, and power. Kundu (1994 cited in Sundar, n.d.) gives the example of children being set to write essays on the circus, or being trained to write letters through mock missives to the police asking them to take action on disturbance by loudspeakers during exams. While SC children may know a great deal about animals, they are unlikely to have ever seen a circus and for the adivasis, the police are usually feared as oppressors and electricity is erratic, if it is at all available, enlisting police support to keep the decibel level down is a most unlikely in the life of an adivasi. Not only are

the knowledge and linguistic and/or cognitive abilities that ST children possess ignored—for example, the capacity to compose and sing spontaneously, to think in riddles and metaphors, and their intimate knowledge of their environment—but schooling also actively encourages a sense of inferiority about ST cultures (Sundar, n.d.). Like the SCs, the STs rarely feature in textbooks—and when they do, it is usually in positions servile to upper-caste characters; or as 'strange' and 'backward' people (Kundu, 1994 and Kumar, 1989).

The 'cultural discontinuity' between school and home draws attention to the rigidity of school organisation and the emphasis on discipline and punishment in contrast with socialisation practices and the lives of children, as reasons for non-attendance. Sujatha (2001 cited in Sundar, n.d.; see also Singh, 1995) cites the case of community schools in Andhra Pradesh, where there was closer interaction with parents, the weekly holiday was in tune with the local weekly bazaar, and school holidays coincided with tribal festivals. The school was observed to show positive results.

4.3 The Language Question

Despite several policy documents and a constitutional provision (350A) recognising the importance of linguistic minorities being educated in their home language at the primary level, there is practically no education in ST languages. This includes even those like Santhali, Bhili, Gondi, or Oraon, which are spoken by over a million people (Nambissan, 2000). Although states in India were organised on linguistic grounds, the political powerlessness of the STs prevented the formation of states based on tribal languages. They are confined to minority status within large states and are compelled to learn the state language at school. Primary teachers are predominantly from non-ST communities. And despite the pedagogic significance

of initial instruction in the mother tongue, teachers do not bother to learn the tribal language even after several years at a posting (Kundu, cited in Sundar, n.d.; Saxena, 1995; Toppo, 1979; Furer-Haimendorf, 1989). Several studies have pointed to the significance of the language question at the primary level, yet the general picture at the primary level is often one of mutual incomprehension between ST students and their non-ST teachers.

Quite apart from the pedagogic problems this creates—destroying the child's self esteem and reducing the possibilities of successful learning in later years— the denigration of ST languages amounts to the denigration of the STs worldview and knowledge. The education system with its insistence on a common language as a means of achieving a common nationhood has been instrumental in the destruction of tribal language, culture, and identity. Even outside the school, educated youth often speak to each other in the language of the school, perhaps to mark themselves off from their 'uneducated peers'. Several languages, especially those spoken by minorities, are dying out. Loss of a language means the loss of a certain way of knowing the world. Experiences of schooling of tribal children in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra have revealed the displacement of Bundelkhandi, Gondi, and Warli by Sanskritised Hindi, Telugu, and Marathi, respectively (Sundar, n.d.; Saxena, 1995, 1997; Furer-Haimendorf, 1989; Saldanha, 1990; personal interviews with Karnataka teachers).

Depending on levels of cultural absorption and adaptation, however, several STs may not look to schools to teach in their home language. Indeed, for many ST parents, the main advantage of schooling is that it gives access to new languages, new occupations, and a new life and enables interaction with the non-tribal world (Grigson, 1993; Patwardhan, 2000; Saldanha, 1990). But wherever STs have been politically mobilised to celebrate ST identity, they have been more clear and open in their demand for education in indigenous languages (Patwardhan, 2000; Nambissan, 2000).

4.4 The Alienating Impact of the School Regimen

The school regimen of timing, discipline, and hierarchy is especially alien to tribal children socialised in a world where individuality is respected early on, and where parent–child interactions are relatively egalitarian (Sarangapani, 2001). Kundu (1994) points out that testing procedures are also based on urban middle class values, and that the competitiveness and system of rewards that examinations represent is often culturally anomalous to ST children who are brought up in an atmosphere of sharing. Furthermore, learning among ST children is usually intimately connected to the work process—children learn the names and medicinal uses of many plants and trees while accompanying their parents on foraging trips in the forest [Sarangapani, 2003(a)]. When children are away at school, especially when they are sent to residential schools, they lose their connection with this world of labour and their capacity to learn from it. Several studies have attested to the alienating effects of language and the school structure and ethos[13].

4.5 Recent Hindu Cultural Nationalist Influences on Curriculum and the SC/ST

In the recent past a serious concern has been the 'Hinduisation' of the curriculum, its adverse implications

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[13] *Apart from the studies cited in the text we have several insights from personal narratives of teachers and social activists who have spent long years working for the education of tribal children (see Appendix).*

for all children but most particularly for religious minorities and SC/STs. A deliberate policy move towards Hinduisation, which occurred at the behest of a neo-right national governmental policy, meant a specific framing of school curriculum within Vedic values and thought. However, even prior to that when there was no overt intent of curriculum or text to be grounded in the dominant religious culture, the fact that most teachers are Hindu made the curriculum Hinduised (Ilaiah, 1996). It influenced the manner in which annual days or other school events were celebrated, for example, breaking a coconut and lighting incense at the base of the flag pole on Republic Day or Independence Day are common practices. Additionally, distinctive ST names are changed to standard Hindu names (Sundar, n.d.; Lobo, Personal account).

5. Schools as Sites of Discrimination

Discrimination on the basis of caste, class, tribe and gender characterises social relations between school personnel, teachers, and high-caste children on the one hand and SC/ST children on the other in schools and classrooms. Social discrimination in school not only compounds the gross injustice done to SC/STs in terms of inferior educational provision and an ideologically hegemonic curriculum, interactive processes socialise children into developing stigmatised identities.

We now have an appalling body of evidence that suggests that teacher's preconceptions, bias, and behaviour, subtle or overt, conscious or unconscious, operate to discriminate against children of an SC/ST background[14]. Teachers' background caste, gender, religion and language, affects interaction with students.

Middle class, higher-caste teachers are generally unhappy with the environments of schools for the poor. In general, they are poorly motivated to teach the children of the poor and/or those with a SC/ST background, who are derogatorily categorised as uneducable. Teacher-pupil interaction which is central to teaching-learning and classroom social processes is shaped by the negative attitudes of teachers.

There is also a constituency of committed teachers who can single handedly motivate disadvantaged children. It has been well recognised that teachers have the power to make a difference to overcome constraints and inspire good performance from students. The reality, however, is of demotivated teachers in poor working conditions who put in tardy effort to teach children from 'lowly' backgrounds. Low expectations of SC/ST children and girls degenerate at times into condescending and openly abusive attitudes to them. Teachers may also have stated or unstated assumptions of 'deprived' and 'deficient' cultural backgrounds, languages and inherent intellectual deficiencies of SC/ST children. They follow discriminatory pedagogic practices of labelling and classifying children on the basis of these assumptions, and use teaching styles which operate on the basis of their 'realistic' perceptions of low-caste childrens' low cognitive capacities. For example, teachers' beliefs about Mushar children in Bihar are that they are just not interested in education and that they do not have any 'tension' in life (Kumar, 2004). Such presumptions set effective limits which are legitimate in teachers' view, to their teaching effort. Levels of prejudice, hostility and indifference to dalit/tribal cultural traits and value

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[14] Most studies in the area focus on teacher attitudes to and interaction with SC/ST children. See Chitnis and Naidu (1981); Pande and Tripathi (1982); Kumar (1989); Nanda (1994); Velaskar and Abraham (1995); Saxena (1995, 1997, 1998); Sreedhar (1999); Talib (2003); Leclercq [2003 (a)]; Balagopalan (2003); Samavesh (2003); Artis et al. (2003); Kumar (2004); Eddie Premdas (Personal Account); L. N. Chaudhary (Personal Account); and Berntsen (Personal Account).

systems are high. Studies have shown that teachers perceive dalit and adivasi children in a negative light, seeing them as unclean, dishonest, lazy, ill-mannered, etc. Discriminatory behaviour manifests itself in numerous ways. Children could be criticised for the clothes they wear, the dialect they speak, for their "uncouth" habits of meat eating and alcohol consumption, for the ignorance of their parents, or even the colour of their skin! In a school setting in which corporal punishment is rampant, SC/ST children could be singled out for the same and shouted at in efforts to discipline and 'civilize' them!

Recent studies have noted that SC children do not encounter practices related to untouchability in school (Jodhka, 2000, 2002; Shah, 2000). However, others point to varied forms of direct and subtle discrimination that we have described above. For instance, Artis et al. (2003) find that in village schools of Gujarat, SC children are forced to sit at the back, actively discouraged from participating in class, and are subject to food and water taboos. Similar experiences exist for schools in rural North Karnataka (Social activist, personal account). Tribal children too are victims of 'caste like' discrimination as a study conducted in the tribal village of Harda in Madhya Pradesh has pointed out. Teachers feel that teaching Korku children is the equivalent of "teaching cows"! Non-adivasi children do not mix with them or drink water from the same tap (Balagopalan, 2003). Teachers refuse to correct their notebooks and complaints to the headmaster result in beating of children by teachers. Teacher violence against dalit children is widely reported.

Like the children, dalit and tribal teachers also suffer humiliation and discrimination (Jha and Jhingran, 2002; Heredia, 1992; Samavesh, 2003; Jodhka, 2000, 2002). They are largely isolated or compelled to form their own separate social circles. They also find themselves succumbing to dominant religio-cultural practices in a bid to avoid conflict and gain acceptance (Chaudhary, Personal account). A disturbing tendency noted by several studies and further substantiated by poignant personal narratives is the use of children as servants by high-caste teachers. Children are assigned a range of menial tasks—from cleaning and sweeping the school to fetching 'paan' and cigarettes for the teacher (Artis et al., 2003; Talib, 1998, 2000; Sachchidanand, 1989). They assign SC/ST children menial jobs and shift the onus of low learning on children and their families. Tribal children have been punished for talking in their own languages. There is an undue obsession with language purity and correctness (Saxena and Mahendroo, 1993; Kundu, 1990, 1994). Placing disadvantaged students in 'better quality', schools doesn't seem to solve the problem. Studies have suggested that feelings of isolation and alienation and experiences of discrimination neutralise the impact of better facilities.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The above survey of the field reality of schooling of SC/ST children results in the conclusion that state policy and bureaucracy together serve to provide quantitatively the most inadequate and qualitatively the most inferior education. While expansion of government schooling has undoubtedly represented a shift from mass exclusion to mass inclusion, it has been an incredibly delayed, weak, and highly discriminatory inclusion. Grossly unequal provision, accompanied by an alienating curriculum and a disinterested and discriminatory teaching–learning process seem to have kept alive the traditional Brahmanical principle of closure. SC/ST children are largely 'cooled out' at the primary level itself. There

occurs an effective physical exclusion of SC/ST children or they achieve low levels of schooling, which do not necessarily reflect learning.

It appears that given the present trend of the state's abdication of its responsibility for mass education, and the consequently depleting provision, the situation of educational disadvantage will not only persist for the SCs/STs but there will be a widening of the relative gap between them and the higher castes and classes, in both the quantity and quality of education. An urgent response to this situation is, therefore, needed.

Recommendations

At the very outset, it must be stated that the recommended policy and programmatic changes can only succeed if equality and justice are firmly brought back on the educational agenda. State education policy must rededicate itself to the ideal of equal education opportunity in the fullest sense of the term. In any event, there are sufficient indications, of the dire need for establishing full fledged, high quality regular schools in educationally impoverished areas given the requirements of scale and sustainability. This need can hardly be fulfilled without massive funding and committed state support, the creation of a nurturing, egalitarian environment and the active encouragement of the public education system by state and society. The relationship between cultural and educational goals needs to be publicly debated with a view to coming to terms with question of cultural hybridity and cultural difference and a host of epistemological and ethical issues. Development of critically aware and culturally sensitive policies and programmes is the key concern. This is important particularly in the context of the caution sounded by researchers about the difficulty of bringing schools closer to tribal childrens' worlds.

The specific recommendations of the Focus Group are as follows:

Institutional

(i) We strongly reiterate the need for equitable provision in terms of quality of schooling at different levels, educational infrastructure and other facilities, qualified teachers and teaching learning materials including texts. The school system requires a more generous and efficient provision of facilities meant for SC and ST children. It is crucial to enhance the autonomy and working conditions of teachers, and teacher self-esteem and value. All non-teaching work load must be taken off the teacher. The educational environment of substandard and dysfunctional schools must change for any meaningful and effective curricular reform.

(ii) We recommend the need to identify geographic areas, tribal and caste groups which continue to suffer marked exclusion and neglect to enable a more focussed implementation of existing positive discrimination policies and designing of new areaspecific ones. We also emphasise the need to invest greater financial and educational resources for their educational development, especially of girls and the formulation of special schemes for SC/ST girls. Equally important is to devise ways and means to weed out malpractice and ensure honest implementation

(iii) There is a need for flexibility in school structures and cultures. School timings, calendars, and holidays must keep in mind local contexts.

(iv) It is important for all concerned to engage with those struggling for the rights of SC/ST communities, especially those committed to their educational advancement.

School Curriculum

(i) Curricular goals must emphasise critical thinking and critical evaluation and appreciation of Indian society and culture. Equal opportunity for intellectual growth, cognitive development, and the social and emotional development of underprivileged children must be sought. The curriculum must aim at the promotion of creative talent, productive skills, and dignity of labour, underlined by values of equality, democracy, secularism, and social and gender justice.

(ii) An approach to curriculum that is rooted in critical theory, in particular inclusion and centering of subaltern dalit, dalit-feminist and critical multiculturalist perspectives is essential. This will aid the process of critical indigenisation, question the unjust and hegemonic social order, as well as incorporate diverse cultures, and prevent loss of valuable cultural heritage. In this context, we must make a commitment to the preservation of all languages as a matter of the communities' cultural rights as well as of national pride.

(iii) The curriculum should lead to identification and creativity and not to alienation. There is a need to incorporate all the creative arts, crafts, and oral expressions into the curriculum, including those rooted in indigenous knowledge and skill systems.

(iv) The curriculum must develop a critical social sciences and humanities content aimed at the achievement of curricular goals of social transformation. A balance between various curricular subjects is essential for a fuller and richer educational experience.

(v) There is need to develop critical multicultural texts and reading material.

Pedagogy

(i) Incorporation of diverse pedagogic methods and practices towards enhancing learning contexts and developing frameworks for democratic and egalitarian classroom practice are essential for effective translation of appropriate curriculum.

(ii) We need to develop constructive critical pedagogy and specific guidance on classroom practices with a view to eschew discrimination against children on the basis of gender, caste, class, tribe and other forms of ethnicity, identity/ability, etc. and foster equal dignity and respect.

(iii) Improvement is required in the affective climate of school, to enable teachers and students to participate freely in knowledge construction and learning.

(iv) There is need to develop pedagogic practice that aims at improving the SC/ST self-esteem and identity.

(v) Non-graded instruction with judicious use of tests for evaluation of learning may be considered.

(vi) Making available a wide range of texts and other reading and instructional material is absolutely essential. Teachers manuals to enhance teacher understandings of SC/ST students their cultural milieus and languages may be useful.

Language

(i) The language spoken at home must be made the media of instruction/communication in the early years of school education. This must be seen as integral to creating an enabling school environment for children and crucial for the process of learning. The pedagogic rationale is that moving from the known to the unknown facilitates learning. Language is a critical resource that children bring to school, which aids thought, communication, and understanding.

(ii) The use of the language spoken at home in the classroom process is also essential to building a child's self-esteem and self-confidence.

(iii) A transition to the regional and other languages including English will be facilitated through learning in the language spoken at home.

(iv) Where there are more than one tribal languages used in any village, we recommend the use of the regional lingua franca or the majority language after consultation with the people concerned.

(v) Teacher education must include the stipulation that teachers pass an examination in a local language. Earlier ICS officers posted to tribal areas had to pass examinations in one tribal language. This practice seems to have died out.

Enhancement of Teacher Education, Teacher Competence, and Teacher Social and Self-Esteem

(i) There is a great need to strengthen teacher education, its overall knowledge and value base and practical training. Teachers must be thoroughly equipped with subject knowledge and critical perspectives and pedagogical skills. There is a need to incorporate a strong foundational base of critical social sciences and humanities governed by democratic egalitarian perspectives in teacher education curricula. Special attention needs to be paid to the social sciences and humanities including new emergent areas of dalit/feminist critical theory, tribal studies, cultural studies, etc. We need to shift from narrow behaviouristic perspectives and to question archaic psychological concepts and constructs, for example, the IQ.

Teachers also require experiential knowledge through fieldwork about the lives of SCs/STs and other marginalised groups, to understand cultures, school–home linkages, and ensuing facilitators and constraints. Together, this would help confront unfounded beliefs and stereotypes and inculcate sensitivity towards SC/ST communities. Teachers' attitudes need to be challenged on a scientific, historical, sociological, and experiential basis, in order to help them understand their own socialisation.

(ii) The teacher education curriculum needs to incorporate an understanding and appreciation of cultural diversities in particular the history of rich cultures and traditions of marginalised communities, histories of their protest and struggles, and their constructive contribution to the nation. An understanding without essentialising diverse identities and the recognition of the interplay between the identity of the child, culture, and learning will enrich the curriculum.

(iii) The pedagogic context within an increasingly segregated system of school requires that teachers be professionally equipped to address the diverse educational needs of children, in particular of first generation learners.

(iv) The strengthening of teacher education content on the lines suggested above will enhance social status and respect for the teaching profession and community.

(v) Recruitment to teacher education programmes must be made more rigorous to enable entry of those suited and motivated to teach children.

(vi) Teacher education needs to be made more accessible in 'backward regions'/tribal areas.

(vii) We need to focus on developing competent teachers within SC/ST communities, particularly women.

Research

Educational research in the country has largely been descriptive and also ahistorical, empiricist and atheoretical in nature. We need to undertake research grounded in critical structural and interpretive theoretical frames and draw upon contributions from dalit, tribal and feminist studies and other relevant subaltern work. Research must provide deeper understanding of socio-cultural milieus and theoretically illuminate problems and educational issues concerning the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. The participation of SC/ST groups is essential as is their own engagement with educational research towards an emancipatory purpose.

Along with rigorous qualitative and ethnographic studies that delve into hidden recesses of curricular processes and school and classroom cultures, surveys are crucial to capture long-term educational trends and explain national, regional and local patterns. Detailed, relevant and comprehensive educational data are sparse and affect meaningful longitudinal and comparative study of educational trends. Government bodies must collect and make available data bases for the use of academic institutions and researchers. The State needs to support and encourage critical academic inquiry as an integral part of democratic culture as also for pragmatic policy concerns.

Table 1

Literacy gains during 1991-2001 among various
Demographic Categories

Categories	2001	1991	Gain
Rural Female ST	32.4	16.0	16.4
Rural Female SC	37.6	19.5	18.1
Rural Female Non-SC/ST	50.2	35.4	14.8
Rural Male SC	53.7	46.0	7.8
Rural Male ST	57.4	38.5	19.0
Urban Female SC	57.5	42.3	15.2
Urban Female ST	59.9	45.7	14.2
Total Literacy	75.8	64.8	11.0
Rural Male Non-SC/ST	74.3	63.4	10.9
Urban Female Non-SC/ST	75.2	67.5	7.7
Urban Male ST	77.8	66.6	11.2
Urban Male SC ·	77.9	66.5	11.4
Urban Male Non-SC/ST	87.6	83.4	4.2

Source: Census of India, 1991 and 2001.

Table 2
Gross Enrolment Ratio in Classes I-V and VI-VIII of Schools for General Education (All Students) 2003-2004 (Provisional)

Sl. No.	State/UT	Classes I-V (6-11 years)			Classes VI-VIII (11-14 years)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	87.42	88.03	87.72	67.10	62.49	64.86
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	115.35	103.47	109.56	67.99	59.06	63.60
3.	Assam	88.22	88.09	88.16	66.02	61.15	63.65
4.	Bihar	80.20	64.20	72.57	30.64	19.21	25.33
5.	Chattisgarh	123.69	122.86	123.29	78.51	62.21	70.52
6.	Goa	100.30	95.50	97.96	104.77	97.55	101.23
7.	Gujarat	117.67	108.62	113.41	81.88	57.40	70.40
8.	Haryana	73.53	77.31	75.25	68.24	62.40	65.51
9.	Himachal Pradesh	106.10	106.88	106.47	99.91	96.49	98.24
10.	Jammu and Kashmir	75.55	67.25	71.52	54.46	46.46	50.60
11.	Jharkhand	86.70	71.10	79.09	42.47	32.19	37.54
12.	Karnataka	110.53	107.23	108.91	78.95	73.32	76.20
13.	Kerala	97.25	96.59	96.92	95.69	91.49	93.64
14.	Madhya Pradesh	112.11	100.68	106.59	71.78	53.88	63.30
15.	Maharashtra	108.32	106.84	107.60	89.41	85.52	87.55
16.	Manipur	139.30	135.64	137.51	86.95	81.57	84.33
17.	Meghalaya	104.19	106.88	105.51	60.27	62.02	61.14
18.	Mizoram	122.54	117.71	120.17	77.25	76.70	76.98
19.	Nagaland	80.95	79.97	80.48	43.56	45.85	44.66
20.	Orissa	114.23	107.44	110.91	58.13	49.69	54.01
21.	Punjab	71.04	76.38	73.45	59.31	60.93	60.06
22.	Rajasthan	120.18	109.41	115.07	74.30	47.22	61.54
23.	Sikkim	116.54	116.48	116.51	52.02	61.63	56.75
24.	Tamil Nadu	117.47	115.49	116.51	102.28	98.44	100.41
25.	Tripura	125.73	119.68	122.76	75.34	70.23	72.84
26.	Uttar Pradesh	96.69	92.58	94.75	53.61	42.97	48.64
27.	Uttaranchal	106.10	107.66	106.85	81.08	79.59	80.36
28.	West Bengal	107.45	107.21	107.33	65.90	62.57	64.28
29.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	118.78	113.23	116.05	100.13	91.41	95.85
30.	Chandigarh	72.00	70.77	71.44	69.19	69.85	69.50
31.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	133.92	117.88	126.06	95.75	66.08	81.64
32.	Daman and Diu	111.66	111.01	111.35	100.85	94.11	97.62
33.	Delhi	90.34	89.81	90.10	84.83	85.91	85.34
34.	Lakshadweep	111.65	100.93	106.37	104.04	89.77	97.09
35.	Pondicherry	121.94	118.72	120.37	121.89	117.37	119.68
	Total	100.63	95.58	98.20	66.76	57.62	62.40

Source: Ministry for Human Resource Development, Annual Report 2005-06.

Table 3

Gross Enrolment Ratio (Scheduled Caste Students) in the age groups
6-11 and 11-14 years, 2003-2004 (Provisional)

Sl. No.	State/UT	Enrolment Ratio SC (I-V)			Enrolment Ratio SC (VI-VIII)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	91.41	90.92	91.17	96.51	88.21	92.55
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	–	–	--	--	–	–
3.	Assam	65.20	63.06	64.15	74.82	73.21	74.05
4.	Bihar	82.21	55.31	69.51	39.59	23.33	32.10
5.	Chattisgarh	97.10	92.45	94.86	109.41	88.97	99.54
6.	Goa	111.07	122.21	126.63	79.08	82.38	80.67
7.	Gujarat	65.37	66.05	65.69	97.34	88.91	93.41
8.	Haryana	80.35	86.21	83.02	80.24	73.45	77.09
9.	Himachal Pradesh	98.74	110.53	103.83	93.43	94.37	93.88
10.	Jammu & Kashmir	83.53	87.54	85.49	76.46	70.02	73.36
11.	Jharkhand	70.06	51.22	60.97	46.13	30.02	38.48
12.	Karnataka	104.47	94.92	99.74	112.57	92.45	102.77
13.	Kerala	97.36	94.67	96.04	87.53	82.44	85.05
14.	Madhya Pradesh	105.84	94.70	100.47	104.75	71.42	89.21
15.	Maharashtra	108.67	107.80	108.25	91.26	87.51	89.49
16.	Manipur	134.56	131.57	137.81	90.35	86.34	86.88
17.	Meghalaya	95.84	100.06	97.71	83.13	86.84	84.95
18.	Mizoram	–	–	–	–	–	–
19.	Nagaland	–	–	–	–	–	–
20.	Orissa	94.33	110.30	101.23	57.57	61.47	59.19
21.	Punjab	106.05	113.34	109.41	75.10	77.82	76.36
22.	Rajasthan	92.10	82.00	87.33	81.13	46.60	65.29
23.	Sikkim	89.00	93.70	91.35	43.70	48.29	46.07
24.	Tamil Nadu	115.90	106.82	111.43	96.99	94.26	95.66
25.	Tripura	122.83	123.05	122.94	78.56	73.22	75.96
26.	Uttar Pradesh	81.74	55.02	69.25	56.98	23.88	41.53
27.	Uttaranchal	101.91	111.15	106.30	110.49	93.97	102.51
28.	West Bengal	116.68	113.19	114.96	105.70	90.29	98.38
29.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	--	–	–	–	–	-
30.	Chandigarh	69.33	65.46	67.46	59.37	54.13	56.84
31.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	101.58	110.99	105.92	96.97	93.18	95.13
32.	Daman and Diu	115.55	109.06	112.39	78.87	82.65	80.64
33.	Delhi	66.70	68.11	67.37	51.18	48.73	50.00
34.	Lakshadweep	–	–	–	–	–	–
35.	Pondicherry	119.32	119.49	121.00	116.30	109.04	111.73
	TOTAL	**93.12**	**83.00**	**88.30**	**79.39**	**63.35**	**71.86**

Table 4
State-wise Percentage of SC Population and Percentage of SC
Enrolment in Classes I-V, VI-VIII and IX-X in 2002

Sl. No.	State/UT	Area	Percentage of SC in Total Population as per Census 2001	Percentage of Scheduled Castes Enrolled in Classes		
				I-V	VI-VIII	IX-X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Rural	18.45	21.78	20.78	19.39
		Urban	10.19	14.40	15.20	14.52
		Total	16.19	19.93	18.99	17.55
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	Rural	0.35	1.01	0.61	0.71
		Urban	1.37	1.16	0.63	0.38
		Total	0.56	1.05	0.62	0.56
3.	Assam	Rural	6.69	9.92	10.72	10.51
		Urban	7.92	16.74	12.52	11.38
		Total	6.85	10.60	11.03	10.69
4.	Bihar	Rural	16.39	17.26	11.52	8.58
		Urban	10.02	14.75	9.49	7.34
		Total	15.72	17.09	11.13	8.21
5.	Chhattisgarh	Rural	11.41	14.51	14.02	14.33
		Urban	12.42	15.52	13.88	11.88
		Total	11.61	14.69	13.98	13.45
6.	Goa	Rural	1.58	1.96	1.66	1.10
		Urban	1.95	2.90	1.85	1.56
		Total	1.77	2.52	1.77	1.38
7.	Gujarat	Rural	6.87	7.23	8.20	7.99
		Urban	7.46	10.05	10.11	9.79
		Total	7.09	8.14	9.00	8.90
8.	Haryana	Rural	21.36	28.63	22.61	16.65
		Urban	14.39	19.58	12.92	9.84
		Total	19.35	26.51	19.62	13.97
9.	Himachal Pradesh	Rural	25.59	30.47	25.86	22.14
		Urban	16.64	17.17	16.86	15.16
		Total	24.72	29.21	24.75	21.00
10.	Jammu and Kashmir	Rural	8.34	9.43	10.87	11.41
		Urban	5.33	8.01	10.05	11.87
		Total	7.59	9.16	10.67	11.57
11.	Jharkhand	Rural	12.35	13.42	10.31	8.68
		Urban	10.03	13.31	9.31	7.57
		Total	11.84	13.41	9.96	8.13

12.	Karnataka	Rural	18.39	21.74	18.20	15.95
		Urban	11.95	16.22	16.29	15.64
		Total	16.20	19.99	17.46	15.80
13.	Kerala	Rural	10.83	11.41	11.34	10.64
		Urban	6.90	7.40	7.58	7.47
		Total	9.81	10.35	10.29	9.73
14.	Madhya Pradesh	Rural	15.58	18.50	17.00	14.15
		Urban	14.03	18.02	16.62	14.32
		Total	15.17	18.37	16.86	14.24
15.	Maharashtra	Rural	10.93	13.99	13.87	13.54
		Urban	9.22	15.07	14.94	14.03
		Total	10.20	14.44	14.34	13.77
16.	Manipur	Rural	1.31	1.78	2.99	2.52
		Urban	6.81	8.50	6.63	7.50
		Total	2.77	3.28	4.17	4.42
17.	Meghalaya	Rural	0.38	1.13	1.81	2.31
		Urban	0.90	5.13	3.74	4.07
		Total	0.48	1.85	2.52	3.11
18.	Mizoram	Rural	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.00
		Urban	0.05	1.50	1.21	1.34
		Total	0.03	0.65	0.67	0.87
19.	Nagaland	Rural	0.00	1.32	1.19	0.70
		Urban	0.00	6.92	5.61	3.02
		Total	0.00	2.78	2.89	1.84
20.	Orissa	Rural	17.19	20.58	18.78	17.14
		Urban	12.75	18.96	13.11	10.49
		Total	16.53	20.40	17.83	15.89
21.	Punjab	Rural	33.04	53.07	38.81	30.23
		Urban	20.70	33.68	26.23	20.42
		Total	28.85	48.09	34.87	26.45
22.	Rajasthan	Rural	17.88	20.67	15.93	13.87
		Urban	14.79	19.13	14.54	12.25
		Total	17.16	20.34	15.53	13.17
23.	Sikkim	Rural	4.96	7.05	5.39	4.77
		Urban	5.50	8.59	5.98	4.71
		Total	5.02	7.13	5.44	4.76
24.	Tamil Nadu	Rural	23.79	29.43	29.02	27.49
		Urban	12.91	20.50	21.39	21.13
		Total	19.00	25.54	25.01	23.59
25.	Tripura	Rural	17.17	18.36	19.89	18.63
		Urban	18.34	27.16	23.60	19.56
		Total	17.37	19.47	20.63	18.88

26.	Uttar Pradesh	Rural	23.41	32.85	28.01	19.02
		Urban	12.54	21.06	17.19	14.57
		Total	21.15	30.69	24.88	17.27
27.	Uttranchal	Rural	19.91	26.91	20.91	14.86
		Urban	11.98	18.62	15.25	12.51
		Total	17.87	25.04	19.29	14.00
28.	West Bengal	Rural	26.88	30.42	26.88	24.61
		Urban	13.05	19.76	16.53	13.64
		Total	23.02	28.42	23.84	20.62
29.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	Rural	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Urban	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Total	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
30.	Chandigarh	Rural	16.00	23.94	21.37	16.76
		Urban	17.67	16.02	12.99	6.77
		Total	17.50	17.20	14.10	7.72
31.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	Rural	1.67	1.39	1.86	3.52
		Urban	2.52	3.85	3.27	5.02
		Total	1.86	1.96	2.30	4.05
32.	Daman and Diu	Rural	2.90	3.34	4.38	5.80
		Urban	3.34	4.67	7.61	8.44
		Total	3.06	3.95	5.84	7.24
33.	Delhi	Rural	19.94	16.59	17.06	13.20
		Urban	16.70	13.08	12.98	10.19
		Total	16.92	13.28	13.25	10.35
34.	Lakshadweep	Rural	0.00	0.02	0.15	0.38
		Urban	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.32
		Total	0.00	0.03	0.10	0.35
35.	Pondicherry	Rural	27.18	30.56	31.22	28.86
		Urban	10.67	11.63	13.38	13.22
		Total	16.19	18.20	19.88	18.59
36.	India	Rural	17.91	22.42	19.42	16.55
		Urban	11.75	16.87	15.34	13.83
		Total	16.20	21.07	18.00	15.39

Source: Seventh All India School Education Survey, NCERT, 2002.

Table 5

Percentage of All, SC and ST Population in age group 5-14 years Attending Educational Institution in the States in 2001

States	All Categories						Scheduled Caste						Scheduled Tribe					
	Rural			Urban			Rural			Urban			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
Jammu & Kashmir	57.30	62.95	51.38	77.68	78.99	76.21	68.24	72.68	63.46	77.75	78.52	76.91	42.61	49.62	35.12	77.79	79.62	75.64
Himachal Pradesh	84.79	85.71	83.82	87.27	87.31	87.22	82.52	83.84	81.15	84.62	84.72	84.51	81.23	83.64	78.79	88.68	89.88	87.24
Punjab	73.93	75.15	72.49	78.05	78.27	77.79	66.19	67.82	64.32	68.55	69.28	67.72	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.
Uttaranchal	75.95	78.29	73.46	78.86	79.46	78.18	74.17	77.11	71.02	76.43	77.10	75.70	75.91	78.93	72.81	88.35	88.96	87.60
Haryana	70.79	73.90	67.18	78.02	78.79	77.10	64.31	67.89	60.18	66.14	67.69	64.37	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.
Delhi	77.96	78.85	76.93	78.35	78.73	77.91	75.44	76.94	73.74	74.49	75.50	73.37	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.	NA.
Rajasthan	62.88	72.19	52.47	74.28	77.36	70.80	57.88	67.57	46.77	64.14	69.01	58.69	53.50	64.44	41.51	66.46	71.38	60.76
Uttar Pradesh	56.25	61.35	50.43	64.37	65.65	62.93	55.87	60.96	50.01	60.29	62.26	58.02	39.16	47.04	30.81	49.02	51.82	45.81
Bihar	40.62	46.30	34.18	62.89	64.87	60.66	28.19	34.43	20.94	46.50	49.81	42.70	25.52	31.67	18.65	62.00	65.64	57.76
Sikkim	77.14	77.51	76.76	82.57	84.56	80.51	72.46	72.66	72.25	79.89	82.12	77.50	75.44	75.61	75.28	83.21	87.05	79.67
Arunachal Pradesh	51.02	54.66	47.19	77.91	80.29	75.46	57.13	61.15	52.82	73.51	76.43	70.47	52.34	55.64	48.93	80.66	83.87	77.58
Nagaland	65.12	66.10	64.06	81.70	82.27	81.08	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	65.59	66.54	64.56	86.08	86.75	85.38
Manipur	72.98	74.56	71.32	84.95	85.78	84.10	74.13	75.04	73.16	83.75	84.18	83.31	68.45	69.99	66.83	84.79	84.85	84.72
Mizoram	67.90	68.84	66.91	86.15	86.32	85.98	NA.	NA.	NA.	94.12	84.62	100.00	68.47	69.48	67.41	86.45	86.69	86.20
Tripura	69.71	71.52	67.81	80.00	81.09	78.88	75.03	76.14	73.90	76.68	78.17	75.11	62.28	65.55	58.83	84.35	86.80	81.89
Meghalaya	49.51	48.27	50.79	84.68	84.51	84.85	50.30	52.57	47.91	46.94	48.90	44.91	49.77	48.31	51.27	85.36	85.03	85.67
Assam	57.15	58.55	55.68	78.83	79.96	77.64	63.22	65.04	61.33	73.93	75.44	72.35	64.56	66.32	62.72	84.43	86.20	82.55
West Bengal	63.37	64.72	61.95	71.76	72.44	71.03	62.85	65.79	59.73	66.24	68.06	64.32	51.29	56.54	45.68	58.94	62.24	55.49
Jharkhand	47.60	53.86	40.90	74.62	76.31	72.76	36.52	43.84	28.54	58.89	62.83	54.63	40.93	46.97	34.51	68.18	71.04	65.24
Orissa	62.59	66.82	58.18	75.17	76.74	73.50	60.70	65.83	55.39	66.01	69.23	62.67	44.93	51.98	37.46	60.86	64.93	56.57
Chhatisgarh	65.25	69.68	60.69	77.90	79.11	76.63	69.78	74.13	65.20	70.92	72.60	69.19	57.86	62.51	53.09	74.51	76.23	72.73
Madhya Pradesh	60.84	66.11	55.06	76.71	77.77	75.54	62.83	68.12	56.75	70.84	72.78	68.69	45.13	51.13	38.75	59.76	62.54	56.75
Gujarat	66.82	71.64	61.45	75.32	76.72	73.70	74.56	77.99	70.70	75.30	77.10	73.26	56.31	60.75	51.57	63.33	65.49	60.97
Maharashtra	77.27	78.77	75.64	82.08	82.38	81.75	78.25	79.64	76.74	81.08	81.97	80.12	64.97	68.23	61.45	76.11	77.28	74.84
Andhra Pradesh	72.01	75.96	67.83	79.07	79.76	78.36	71.66	76.07	66.94	78.23	79.46	76.99	59.86	66.51	52.50	70.85	73.91	67.40
Karnataka	67.41	70.35	64.34	76.55	76.62	76.47	61.97	66.35	57.37	73.30	74.55	71.99	57.54	62.04	52.89	69.72	71.52	67.82
Goa	86.19	86.85	85.50	83.71	84.31	83.07	83.75	83.84	83.66	80.77	82.32	79.13	52.94	64.29	45.00	54.84	50.00	59.57
Kerala	89.01	88.85	89.19	89.96	89.84	90.08	88.11	87.79	88.44	89.62	89.33	89.92	74.57	74.53	74.60	86.85	86.20	87.48
Tamil Nadu	83.28	84.34	82.15	84.65	84.77	84.52	83.31	84.35	82.23	82.42	82.67	82.16	60.06	63.22	56.60	70.89	71.95	69.78
India	62.21	66.25	57.80	75.91	76.75	74.98	59.96	64.30	55.14	70.68	72.26	68.95	53.09	58.50	47.33	70.89	73.03	68.61

Table 6

Gross Enrolment Ratio (Scheduled Tribe Students) in the age groups
6-11 and 11-14 years, 2003-2004 (Provisional)

Sl. No.	State/UT	Enrolment Ratio SC (I-V)			Enrolment Ratio SC (VI-VIII)		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1.	Andhra Pradesh	81.85	77.20	79.57	87.94	62.17	75.71
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	99.76	89.96	94.99	91.87	65.21	77.30
3.	Assam	66.21	70.02	68.02	94.93	95.34	95.11
4.	Bihar	88.04	79.54	84.78	66.18	40.11	55.04
5.	Chattisgarh	110.41	111.98	111.15	99.75	83.76	92.30
6.	Goa	–	–	–	–	–	–
7.	Gujarat	92.05	100.48	95.90	77.74	67.58	72.90
8.	Haryana	–	–	–	–	–	–
9.	Himachal Pradesh	119.23	123.79	118.68	99.89	94.24	97.20
10.	Jammu and Kashmir	83.80	65.23	74.68	48.59	31.10	40.29
11.	Jharkhand	94.89	76.50	86.03	91.56	67.94	80.63
12.	Karnataka	92.80	91.61	92.22	106.63	88.79	98.05
13.	Kerala	116.65	116.13	116.40	99.74	93.54	96.71
14.	Madhya Pradesh	95.12	70.97	83.03	77.32	57.05	68.15
15.	Maharashtra	105.97	105.02	105.52	90.46	75.91	83.39
16.	Manipur	130.07	122.89	126.82	77.51	67.88	72.77
17.	Meghalaya	95.05	98.94	96.97	63.71	73.67	68.70
18.	Mizoram	122.74	117.36	120.11	77.74	69.02	73.21
19.	Nagaland	72.40	64.17	68.31	48.72	42.26	45.46
20.	Orissa	96.24	94.14	95.27	76.11	58.92	68.14
21.	Punjab	–	–	–	–	–	–
22.	Rajasthan	94.89	87.84	91.61	82.03	48.42	66.88
23.	Sikkim	131.31	137.83	140.94	71.14	84.76	78.08
24.	Tamil Nadu	121.78	84.01	103.73	120.50	115.36	117.98
25.	Tripura	128.52	119.56	124.21	65.76	53.68	59.81
26.	Uttar Pradesh	75.06	53.32	64.67	73.88	37.90	56.71
27.	Uttaranchal	89.33	99.50	94.21	86.36	86.28	86.32
28.	West Bengal	74.02	72.45	73.28	61.49	38.49	49.85
29.	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	118.19	78.20	95.23	95.16	64.09	77.89
30.	Chandigarh	–	–	–	–	–	–
31.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	100.22	92.98	96.70	101.65	64.96	84.50
32.	Daman and Diu	109.98	118.22	113.71	90.98	79.47	85.63
33.	Delhi	–	–	–	–	–	–
34.	Lakshadweep	113.94	99.82	106.89	103.26	90.79	97.22
35.	Pondicherry	–	–	–	–	–	–
	TOTAL	**94.66**	**87.77**	**91.37**	**84.00**	**66.62**	**75.76**

Source: Ministry for Human Resource Development, Annual Report 2005-06.

Table 7
State-wise Percentage of ST Population and Percentage of ST Enrolment in Classes I-V, VI-VIII and IX-X in 2002

Sl. No.	State/UT	Area	Percentage of SC in Total Population as per Census 2001	Percentage of Scheduled castes Enrolled in Classes		
				I-V	VI-VIII	IX-X
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Andhra Pradesh	Rural	8.39	12.36	6.72	5.87
		Urban	1.81	3.98	3.41	2.70
		Total	6.59	10.26	5.65	4.67
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	Rural	69.68	81.03	77.55	76.18
		Urban	43.39	52.90	56.14	60.26
		Total	64.22	74.75	70.89	69.26
3.	Assam	Rural	13.59	17.01	18.32	18.55
		Urban	4.48	7.79	8.46	8.79
		Total	12.41	16.09	16.62	16.60
4.	Bihar	Rural	0.97	0.87	0.61	0.56
		Urban	0.47	0.47	0.56	0.46
		Tota.	0.91	0.85	0.60	0.53
5.	Chhattisgarh	Rural	37.63	33.36	31.04	29.22
		Urban	8.40	10.30	11.26	11.85
		Total	31.76	29.31	26.31	23.02
6.	Goa	Rural	0.03	0.12	0.17	0.18
		Urban	0.06	0.42	0.23	0.19
		Total	0.04	0.30	0.21	0.19
7.	Gujarat	Rural	21.63	21.83	17.71	18.20
		Urban	3.25	4.66	4.32	4.22
		Total	14.76	16.26	12.11	11.12
8.	Haryana	Rural	0.00	1.01	1.27	1.27
		Urban	0.00	1.82	1.43	1.24
		Total	0.00	1.20	1.32	1.26
9.	Himachal Pradesh	Rural	4.32	4.86	4.45	4.06
		Urban	1.26	1.92	2.29	2.53
		Total	4.02	4.58	4.18	3.81
10.	Jammu and Kashmir	Rural	13.83	14.13	10.32	10.56
		Urban	2.05	4.09	3.82	3.90
		Total	10.90	12.21	8.76	8.21
11.	Jharkhand	Rural	31.02	31.32	27.77	26.25
		Urban	9.79	13.88	14.14	12.77
		Total	26.30	28.71	23.00	19.52

12.	Karnataka	Rural	8.41	9.32	7.66	6.60
		Urban	2.95	3.79	3.75	3.79
		Total	6.55	7.57	6.16	5.29
13.	Kerala	Rural	1.48	1.79	1.33	1.02
		Urban	0.17	0.32	0.35	0.30
		Total	1.14	1.41	1.05	0.81
14.	Madhya Pradesh	Rural	25.79	22.95	17.67	14.31
		Urban	4.93	5.67	5.14	5.56
		Total	20.27	18.30	13.22	9.58
15.	Maharashtra	Rural	13.42	16.25	11.40	9.32
		Urban	2.65	4.69	4.49	4.24
		Total	8.85	11.44	8.36	6.95
16.	Manipur	Rural	44.37	55.67	43.88	41.83
		Urban	6.12	8.45	9.15	6.72
		Total	34.20	45.12	32.58	28.43
17.	Meghalaya	Rural	90.24	93.48	91.69	89.43
		Urban	68.31	79.85	78.66	77.89
		Total	85.94	91.03	86.91	84.20
18.	Mizoram	Rural	96.27	99.77	99.99	100.00
		Urban	92.61	98.39	98.67	98.55
		Total	94.46	99.19	99.26	99.06
19.	Nagaland	Rural	93.73	97.46	97.84	99.21
		Urban	67.10	88.77	91.39	95.26
		Total	89.15	95.20	95.36	97.26
20.	Orissa	Rural	24.61	22.61	13.34	10.90
		Urban	8.10	10.89	8.05	7.16
		Total	22.13	21.32	12.46	10.20
21.	Punjab	Rural	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Urban	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
		Total	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
22.	Rajasthan	Rural	15.52	13.98	12.69	11.70
		Urban	2.87	4.11	4.39	6.02
		Total	12.56	11.91	10.28	9.25
23.	Sikkim	Rural	21.19	21.52	22.57	23.64
		Urban	15.86	20.59	22.57	27.51
		Total	20.60	21.47	22.57	24.18
24.	Tamil Nadu	Rural	1.58	2.18	1.29	0.96
		Urban	0.36	0.82	0.57	0.45
		Total	1.04	1.59	0.91	0.65
25.	Tripura	Rural	36.48	44.02	35.82	34.93
		Urban	4.66	5.52	8.49	10.15
		Total	31.05	39.14	30.35	28.23

No.	State					
26.	Uttar Pradesh	Rural	0.07	0.40	0.37	0.25
		Urban	0.04	0.63	0.61	0.57
		Total	0.06	0.44	0.44	0.37
27.	Uttranchal	Rural	3.81	4.18	3.87	3.16
		Urban	0.73	1.26	1.48	2.13
		Total	3.02	3.52	3.18	2.79
28.	West Bengal	Rural	7.16	7.06	4.98	4.49
		Urban	1.21	2.08	1.90	1.69
		Total	5.50	6.13	4.07	3.47
29.	Andaman and Nichobar Islands	Rural	11.86	11.41	12.23	12.36
		Urban	0.87	0.93	1.06	0.62
		Total	8.27	7.87	8.17	7.49
30.	Chandigarh	Rural	0.00	0.42	0.28	0.09
		Urban	0.00	0.10	0.06	0.12
		Total	0.00	0.15	0.09	0.12
31.	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	Rural	74.94	91.93	89.06	82.27
		Urban	19.45	21.98	29.79	32.53
		Total	62.24	75.77	70.56	64.70
32.	Daman and Diu	Rural	11.09	18.67	14.82	11.78
		Urban	4.90	6.41	6.24	6.15
		Total	8.85	13.05	10.94	8.70
33.	Delhi	Rural	0.00	0.42	0.33	0.26
		Urban	0.00	0.55	0.31	0.33
		Total	0.00	0.54	0.31	0.32
34.	Lakshadweep	Rural	95.62	99.75	99.57	98.85
		Urban	93.12	99.05	97.99	93.63
		Total	94.51	99.46	98.83	96.28
35.	Pondicherry	Rural	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
		Urban	0.00	0.06	0.06	0.06
		Total	0.00	0.05	0.04	0.04
	India	**Rural**	**10.42**	**11.11**	**9.02**	**7.25**
		Urban	**2.44**	**3.92**	**3.66**	**3.42**
		Total	**8.20**	**9.37**	**7.16**	**5.63**

Source: Seventh All India School Education Survey, NCERT, 2002.

Table 8

Drop out Rates in Classes (I-V) and (V-VIII) for the year 2003-2004

Sl. No.	State/UT	All Categories						Scheduled Caste						Scheduled Tribe					
		Class I-V			Class I-VIII			Class I-V			Class I-VIII			Class I-V			Class I-VIII		
		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1	Andhra Pradesh	42.42	42.80	42.61	57.93	61.78	59.79	44.09	46.12	45.09	63.41	68.87	66.05	63.29	68.47	65.76	76.80	82.49	79.33
2	Arunachal Pradesh	46.07	46.67	46.34	64.38	62.46	63.52	21.88	32.26	26.98	54.55	50.00	52.54	48.58	48.37	48.48	68.07	68.12	68.09
3	Assam	54.70	51.36	53.15	69.54	72.41	70.81	58.58	52.83	56.00	67.28	67.64	67.44	61.30	59.51	57.80	71.80	75.26	73.25
4	Bihar	59.05	58.99	59.03	77.00	79.62	78.03	46.88	45.42	46.36	83.37	84.68	83.85	62.28	61.22	61.71	81.71	84.39	82.84
5	Chhattisgarh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	Goa	-5.53	1.91	-1.90	6.15	12.91	9.43	34.88	31.21	33.10	43.12	41.90	42.53	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	Gujarat	27.42	24.17	26.02	45.09	49.48	46.94	28.83	23.71	26.44	39.50	59.11	48.43	36.18	43.10	39.35	66.45	68.66	67.41
8	Haryana	13.24	13.39	13.31	19.03	23.92	21.26	19.29	19.90	19.58	39.14	47.82	43.20	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	Himachal Pradesh	15.87	18.15	16.98	13.29	15.32	14.28	13.01	17.54	15.27	30.19	32.52	31.33	10.87	10.79	10.83	14.07	26.69	20.29
10	Jammu & Kashmir	36.04	37.44	36.65	51.26	41.87	47.49	35.54	11.15	25.78	33.66	33.98	33.80	43.48	39.16	41.76	41.77	50.35	45.45
11	Jharkhand	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	Karnataka	10.10	9.36	9.75	50.29	50.94	50.59	6.12	14.03	9.97	27.19	51.62	38.62	4.88	4.96	4.92	53.81	56.80	55.19
13	Kerala	0.00	0.00	0.00	-12.55	6.40	-9.54	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.13	9.46	7.75	33.49	37.54	35.45
14	Madhya Pradesh	24.74	22.58	23.78	44.41	49.99	46.81	21.41	19.26	20.48	39.40	51.10	44.37	35.26	38.91	36.89	56.80	61.61	58.80
15	Maharashtra	12.40	13.81	13.07	30.71	36.01	33.25	17.02	18.21	17.59	30.03	38.22	33.98	34.42	42.82	38.38	59.12	65.14	61.91
16	Manipur	26.42	26.41	26.41	31.52	29.59	30.61	31.06	19.62	25.51	0.00	0.00	0.00	38.77	54.99	46.96	62.11	60.91	61.56
17	Meghalaya	53.92	52.91	53.42	70.67	71.59	71.13	58.20	59.34	58.72	68.61	69.09	68.84	56.76	54.43	55.60	76.32	76.21	76.27
18	Mizoram	55.95	55.23	55.61	65.18	63.08	64.19	—	—	—	—	—	—	55.57	54.82	55.21	64.58	62.59	63.64
19	Nagaland	31.43	34.27	32.81	46.76	42.73	44.83	—	—	—	—	—	—	35.36	34.49	34.95	60.88	57.58	59.34
20	Orissa	41.19	34.36	38.19	64.58	57.51	61.72	44.99	42.36	43.81	63.73	67.17	65.26	59.58	63.19	61.20	76.49	76.56	76.52
21	Punjab	23.60	20.21	22.03	35.13	35.26	35.19	33.22	29.27	31.37	54.67	51.50	53.19	—	—	—	—	—	—
22	Rajasthan	59.29	55.83	57.94	64.64	73.87	68.50	53.07	36.29	47.69	69.65	80.07	73.87	52.19	38.31	47.80	70.42	79.63	74.00
23	Sikkim	56.93	50.69	53.85	76.63	69.62	73.29	61.07	43.05	52.69	80.51	72.58	76.98	25.25	-1.13	12.60	58.18	40.44	49.74
24	Tamil Nadu	3.42	3.04	3.23	25.35	24.92	25.15	27.08	26.75	26.95	42.97	38.90	41.09	16.82	12.00	15.37	48.76	40.44	32.73
25	Tripura	45.07	44.50	44.80	62.64	66.10	64.29	35.85	35.88	35.87	61.95	69.07	65.41	58.06	61.25	59.56	79.75	82.04	80.82
26	Uttar Pradesh	23.03	-1.91	13.51	44.96	39.48	42.84	45.69	56.40	49.84	63.46	75.45	67.96	25.68	19.40	23.11	34.03	31.75	33.07
27	Uttaranchal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	West Bengal	34.12	32.73	33.46	62.72	64.92	63.77	37.82	36.58	37.25	66.40	67.34	66.80	67.76	51.55	62.41	84.89	78.68	83.05
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	-1.10	0.47	-0.35	18.67	19.07	18.86	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.58	5.47	2.97	24.16	28.02	26.03
30	Chandigarh	-7.94	1.25	-3.62	-1.23	-2.91	-2.03	4.20	15.28	9.58	55.02	56.19	55.57	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	21.38	36.55	28.40	35.81	56.61	45.24	16.13	18.03	17.07	27.59	24.53	26.13	28.17	45.01	35.99	43.54	65.37	53.42
32	Daman & Diu	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.05	23.14	17.36	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-3.88	3.48	-0.41	26.01	38.55	31.81
33	Delhi	15.71	28.73	22.03	26.43	29.02	27.71	32.64	49.05	41.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	78.66	82.72	80.62	79.62	81.42	80.49
34	Lakshadweep	0.00	1.09	3.03	-1.35	11.66	4.90	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.00	1.10	3.03	-10.66	8.12	-1.38
35	Pondicherry	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.20	6.11	-4.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	India	33.74	28.57	31.47	51.85	52.92	52.32	36.83	36.19	36.56	57.33	62.19	59.42	49.13	48.67	48.93	69.04	71.43	70.05

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